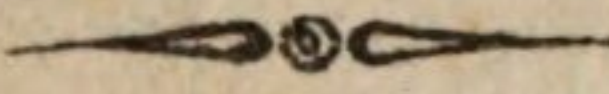


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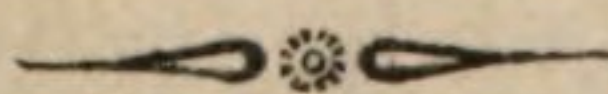
Shepherd

Miss Shepherd
24 Rue à Voie D'anne
CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL *des Champs*

ELUCIDATION
OF THE
MORNING AND EVENING
PRAYER
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

R-

BY JOHN SHEPHERD, M. A.

LATE OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
CURATE OF PADDINGTON.


SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED AND IMPROVED.

Turpe est viro id, in quo quotidie versatur, ignorare. DURAND.

*We should be very solicitous rightly to apprehend the sense and fitness of
what we say and do in God's Worship.* ABP. SECKER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. AND C. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD,
AND
R. FAULDER, NEW BOND STREET.

1798.

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ILLUSTRATION

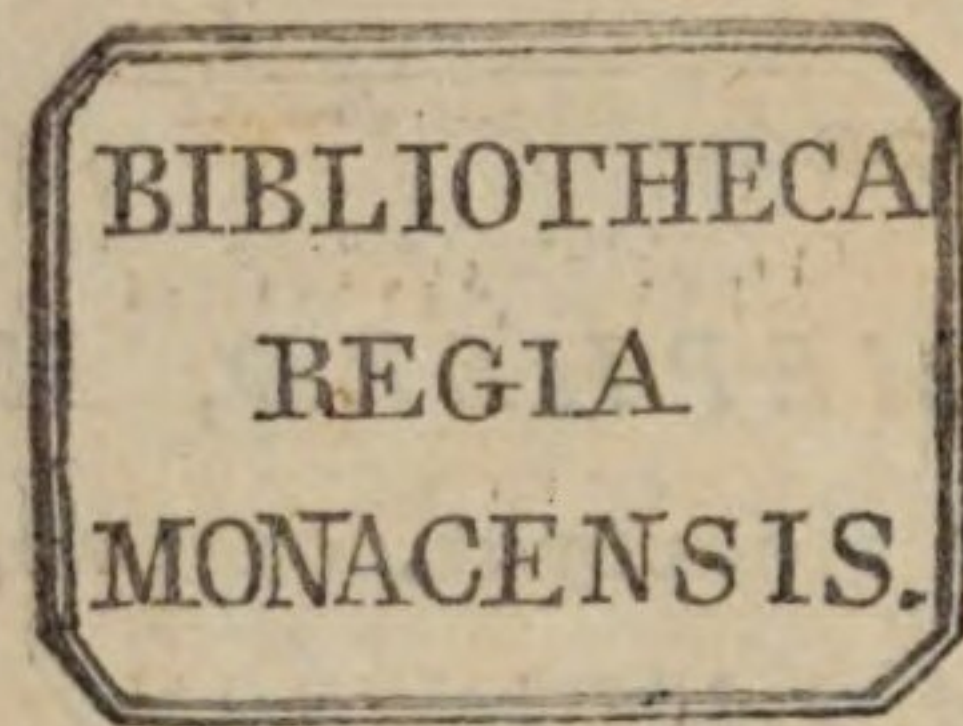
OF THE

MORNING AND EVENING

PRAYER

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND



SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

By the Rev. J. C. RILEY, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Divinity at the University of Cambridge.

LONDON: PRINTED BY J. C. RILEY, ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LONDON.

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1798

TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
DR. BEILBY PORTEUS,
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,
THE
SECOND EDITION
OF A
CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL
ELUCIDATION
OF THE
MORNING AND EVENING PRAYER
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
IS
MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED
BY
THE AUTHOR.

TO THE
RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
MR. BILLY PORTER
LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,
THE
SECOND EDITION
OF A
CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL
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CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
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THE AUTHOR

INTRODUCTION.

OF THE ORIGIN, AND PROGRESSIVE FORMATION OF THE ENGLISH LITURGY.

THE excellence of our Liturgy in general, and in particular that its forms are equally removed from superstition and laxity, is generally confessed. For this moderation, to which it owes no small share of its praise, we are principally indebted to the *Reformation*: the first seeds of which were sown by our countryman Wickliffe, in the reign of Edward III. Wickliffe saw and exposed the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome; yet little was done by his followers, in this country at least, towards a reform of abuses, till the reign of Henry VIII., whose dispute with the Roman Pontiff, it is well known, terminated in his separation from the papal jurisdiction. No sooner was the supremacy of the Pope disclaimed, than the friends of reformation, at the head of whom were CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury, and CROMWELL, the King's Secretary, began to take measures for its establishment.

There had been published in English, a small treatise, containing instructions and devotions, well adapted to remove the ignorance and superstition of the age*. This little volume was afterward entitled *The King's Primer*, either to
give

* A great variety of little tracts on the subject of religion were either printed in England, or imported from the Continent, between the years 1525 and 1532. The industry and hazard with which they were disseminated, and the avidity with which they were read, almost exceed belief. Among those that ventured their lives by the importation of prohibited books, I shall notice only *Bayfield*, who had been a
a monk

give it the greater sanction, or from its being re-published by royal authority, or, what is most probable, from the King's composing, or altering some part of it.

At what period the *Primer* was first published, I have not been able to ascertain. In the list of books disallowed by royal proclamation in 1529, that is, about six years before the papal supremacy was transferred to the King, "the *Primer in English*" is mentioned; and I suspect that it might have been in circulation, about two, or perhaps nearly three years. Had the *Primer* been publicly known in 1526, the time, as far as I have discovered, when books written against Popish innovations were first ordered to be suppressed, it is not likely that so offensive a book, as the *Primer in English*, would have been left unnoticed*.

In 1535, the year in which the Pope excommunicated Henry, with his adherents, and affected to deprive the monarch of his crown, appeared an edition of the *King's Primer* in quarto, with considerable alterations and additions. In this book are various tracts†, which seem to have been written by different authors, and were now probably first collected into one volume. Collier affirms, that the whole was drawn

from a monk of St. Edmund's Bury. In 1530, he landed two cargoes of tracts; one at London, and the other in Essex; and, in 1531, a third in Norfolk, for which he was soon after burnt at Smithfield. In 1529, by one single proclamation, beside a variety of English books, upwards of eighty Latin treatises were prohibited. These had principally been written by *Wickliffe*, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, and other divines, chiefly natives of Germany. In the proclamation they are entitled, *Libri sectæ sive factionis Lutherianæ*; *Books of the Lutheran faction, or sect.*

* The titles of the books prohibited in 1526, may be found in *Fox, Acts*, &c. p. 928; and in *Strype, Mem.* Vol. I. p. 165.

† Several of the tracts now admitted into the larger *Primers*, have the same titles with those that were interdicted a few years before, and I suspect the tracts were the same. For instance, the *dialogue between father and son*, forbidden in 1526, sanctioned by the *King's Primer* of 1535, and declared in 1542 to be *heretical*, was, I apprehend, one and the same tract.

up by a single hand, but he rests his proof upon the evidence arising from the “admonition to the reader.” This, no doubt, was either written, or adopted by the editor of the volume, Dr. Marshall. Again there appears to me intrinsic proof that all the tracts were not the production of the same pen. One, for instance, blends according to the old *Romish* mode, the first commandment with the second, whilst another makes a clear distinction between them. Strype thinks the Archbishop composed some of the tracts, and revised others *; and his opinion is probably right.

Of the contents of a book so remarkable, and at the same time so little known, as the Primer is, it may at least gratify curiosity to see a brief enumeration, or abstract.

The larger editions, after the *admonition to the reader* and the *preface*, begin with an *exposition of the commandments*, another of *the creed*, and a *confession*, wherein all are directed to examine their lives by the rules of the commandments. These are followed by two pious, and judicious tracts, entitled *Directions concerning Prayer*, and an *Exposition of the Lord's Prayer*; a caution concerning the use of *Ave Maria*, or the angel's salutation, with a *Prayer to our Creator*,—*Prayers for Bishops and Rulers, for Husbands and Wives, &c.* or an *office for all states*,—a tract on *good works*,—and an *exhortation to expect the cross, and to bear it patiently*. Then follow *mattins, lauds, evensong, &c.* After these stand *the seven penitential psalms*, and *the Litany*, different copies of which, in different editions, vary almost as much from each other, as some of them do from our present form. After the Litany is a *contemplation on psalm LI.*; a *Prayer to our Saviour*; *the History of Christ's passion taken from the Gospels*, and divided into ten sections; a *practical discourse on the passion*; *instructions for children*; a *catechetical dialogue between a father and son*; *prayers against blindness and hardness of heart*: several *prayers and thanksgivings* from Scripture, and the

* Mem. Vol. I. p. 217.

Dirige, or office for the souls of the dead, with a preface prefixed, which inveighs against the practice of misapplying to the dead, passages used by the living to excite the compassion of friends. "We have rung and sung, mumbled and murmured, and piteously pewled a certain sort of psalms, which make no more for the purpose than *Te Deum*, or *Gloria in excelsis*. In the *Dirige*, there is nothing taken out of Scripture that makes any more mention of souls departed than doth the tale of *Robin Hood* *." Then follow *commendations*, &c. In some copies the Collects, Epistles and Gospels throughout the year are added, and in others expositions of them. In the smaller volumes, many of the articles already enumerated are omitted. But in both the smaller and larger editions, several of the tracts, interspersed among the prayers, and devotional offices, and in particular, the Preface, or Admonition to the Reader, with the Dialogue, are directly levelled against abuses and superstitions, which then prevailed †.

The publication of the Primer then was one of the first steps towards the reformation of doctrine and worship: and the great variety of editions, through which it passed in a very few years, is a clear proof that a very unusual number of copies must have been disseminated through the kingdom ‡. When we further recollect that the royal authority, which at this time prohibited the reading of the English Bible, and

* Preface to the *Dirige*.

† After the fall of Cromwell, some of these treatises were *interdicted*, and even deemed *heretical*. See Bonner's Injunctions of 1542, and Strype's Mem. in 1535.

‡ The Popish party appear to have been no less active in dispersing Primers favourable to their cause. The King's *Injunction* of May 6, 1546, authorising a Primer printed by Grafton in the same year, mentions "the *adversity* (opposition) of Primer books now abroad, whereof are almost innumerable sorts;" and commands "one uniform order to be taught to children, and used for ordinary prayers by all, that were not learned in the Latin tongue."

many

many devotional books *, repeatedly enjoined the daily use of the King's Primer, either in public, or private, we may reasonably conclude that the book was very popular, and extremely beneficial to the cause of Reformation.

In the year following, that is, in 1536, *Articles of Religion* were agreed upon in convocation †, and ordered by the king to be published. From the royal Declaration prefixed, we learn that the design of the Articles was to *prevent diversity of opinion both in matters of faith and worship, and to establish unity and concord in the church of England*. By these articles, the Holy Scriptures, and the three Creeds, are constituted the standard of faith and doctrine. The foundation of Christian belief, and the terms of the covenant of grace, are stated, and explained. Out of the seven Romish Sacraments, of four no notice whatever is taken. Baptism, Penance, and the Eucharist, are the only three mentioned. The direct worship of Saints and Angels, or the “honouring them with the honour due only unto God,” is expressly prohibited, yet the “praying to them to pray for us, and with us,” is declared to be “very laudable.” Abuses concerning images ‡, and the doctrine of purgatory, are corrected, and the reason of observing various rites and ceremonies ‡, is explained. But though many of the errors of Popery

* The *Proclamation* issued in 1535, calling in *sedition books*, was principally meant to suppress *Popish* books of devotion, and such as favoured the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome. Strype's Mem. Vol. I. p. 221.

† In the convocation held this year, the clergy likewise drew up a petition, which was presented to the king, praying, “that he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the laity, the reading of the Bible in the English tongue, and that a new translation may be made for the purpose.” Heylin, Church of England justified.

‡ The article relating to Images, and that to Rites and Ceremonies, are as follows.—

“OF IMAGES.

“As touching images, truth it is, that the same have been said in the *Old Testament*, for the great abuses of them to have been some time

Popery are thus corrected, the *old* notions, concerning auricular confession, sacerdotal absolution, or the power of the priest

destroyed and put down; and, in the *New Testament*, they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare; wherefore we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them; and first, that there may be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example; and that they also be, by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of mens' minds, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences; especially the Images of *Christ* and our *Lady*; and that therefore it is meet they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed: and to the intent the rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition, as in time past it is thought that the same hath used to do; we will, that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and, according to this doctrine, reform their abuses, for else there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid: and as for incensing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings; although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen into custom, yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done, to the same Images, but only to be done to God and his honour: although it be done before the Images, whether it be of *Christ*, of the *Cross*, or of our *Lady*, or of any other *Saint* beside."

" OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

" As concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of *Christ's* church, as to have such vestments in doing God's service, as be and have been most part used: as sprinkling of holy water, to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and of the blood of *Christ*, sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar; that all christened men be one body mystical of *Christ*, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of our receiving of the holy sacrament and body of *Christ*, the which we ought to receive in right charity; which, in the beginning of *Christ's* church, men did more often receive than they use now a days to do: bearing of candles on *Candlemas-day*, in memory of *Christ*, the spiritual light; of whom *Simeon* did prophesy, as is read in the church that day: giving of ashes on *Ash-Wednesday*, to put in remembrance every christian man, in the beginning of *Lent* and *Penance*, that he is but earth and ashes, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother tongue,

priest to absolve, the corporal presence, and some other points of inferior importance are retained*.

The noble author † of the Life of Henry VIII. affirms, that from some records it would appear, that the articles were devised by Henry himself, and that Cromwell afterward recommended them to the Convocation. But it is more probable that Cranmer was employed in drawing them up, for some of them are evidently written in Cranmer's manner. To confirm positions laid down in the Articles, *reasons* are given, and quotations from Scripture are occasionally added. The practice of confirming, or confuting religious opinions by texts of Scripture, instead of bringing quotations from schoolmen, and popish canons, was principally introduced, into England at least, by Cranmer ‡. In his letters to Henry, in his speech at the opening of the Convocation under Edward, in his disputations with the bishop of Winchester, and on many other occasions, we find him insisting on the

tongue, always on the same day: bearing of *palms* on *Palm-Sunday*, in memory of receiving of *Christ* into *Jerusalem*, a little before his death, that we have the same desire to receive him in our hearts: creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to *Christ* on *Good-Friday*, before the cross; and offering there unto *Christ* before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption, by *Christ* made upon the cross: setting up of the sepulchre of *Christ*, whose body, after his death, was buried: the hallowing of the *font*, and other like benedictions by the ministers of *Christ's* church; and all other like laudable customs, rites and ceremonies, be not to be condemned and cast away, but to be used and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify; not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion; but renewing them in our memories, from time to time: but none of these ceremonies hath power to remit sins, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven."

* Of these Articles of Religion, copious abstracts are given in Strype's Cranmer, b. i. c. xi. Burnet, Vol. I. p. 215. See also Fuller, b. v. and Collier, Vol. II. p. 122.

† Lord Herbert.

‡ Strype's Cranmer.

necessity of keeping close to the rules and doctrines delivered in the Scriptures*. His sentiments on the propriety of assigning reasons for necessary alterations will appear from what he suggests in reply to a letter from the king, relating to the abolition of some superstitious usages. Of the letter, and part of the reply, I shall in the notes give an extract in the words of the respective writers, after desiring the reader to remember, that they were composed A. D. 1545 †.

Soon

* Collier, and Archbishop Parker's Brit. Antiq.

† Henry writes to the Archbishop, " Forasmuch as you, as well in your own name, and in the name of the bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, and other our chaplains and learned men, whom we appointed with you to peruse certain *books of service*, which we delivered unto you; moved us that the *Vigil*, and ringing of bells all the night long upon *All-hallow* day at night, and the covering of images in the churches, in the time of *Lent*; with the lifting up of the veil that covereth the cross upon *Palm-Sunday*, with the kneeling to the cross the same time, might be abolished, and put away for the superstition, and other enormities and abuses of the same. First, forasmuch as all the *Vigils* of our Lady, and the Apostles, and all other *Vigils*, which in the beginning of the church were godly used; yet for the manifold superstition and abuses which afterwards did grow by means of the same, they be many years past taken away, throughout all *Christendom*; and there remaineth nothing but the name of *Vigil* in the *Calendar*; the thing clearly abolished and put away, saving only upon *All-hallow* day at night, upon which night is kept *Vigil*; watching and ringing of bells all night long. Forasmuch as that *Vigil* is abused, as other *Vigils* were; our pleasure is as you require, that the said *Vigil* shall be abolished as the other be, and that there shall be no watching or ringing but as be commonly used upon other holy days at night. We be contented and pleased also, that the images in the churches shall not be covered, as hath been accustomed in times past, nor no veil upon the cross, nor kneeling thereto upon *Palm-Sunday*, nor any other time. And forasmuch as you make no mention of creeping to the cross, which is a greater abuse than any other, for there you say, *Crucem tuam adoramus Domine*, and the Ordinal saith, *procedant clerici ad crucem adorandam nudis pedibus*; and after followeth, in the same Ordinal, *ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur*: which, by your own book, called a *necessary doctrine*, is against the *second commandment*. Therefore our pleasure is, that the said creeping to the cross shall likewise

cease

Soon after the publication of the *Articles*, in 1636, *Injunctions* were set forth, which, as well as the Injunctions afterward promulgated from time to time, require all persons to adhere to the *Book of Articles*: and the universal clamour raised among the Papists against these Articles, shews, that the establishment of them was apprehended to be an important acquisition to the cause of the Reformation.

If in the Book of Articles, as well as in the Primers, we sometimes find Popish errors, intermixed with the genuine doctrines of Scripture, we should recollect that these errors were not of a nature to be corrected in a moment. The darkness arising from the united power of *Superstition* and *Ignorance*, required not only a morning, but a meridian sun to dispel it. Though Cranmer, and a few others, might discern the enormous growth of the tares among the wheat, they likewise saw that the harvest of the reformation was

cease from henceforth, and be abolished, with other the abuses before rehearsed: and this we will and straitly command you to signify to all the prelates and bishops of your province of *Canterbury*; charging them in our name to see the same executed, every one in his diocese accordingly."

To make this order practicable, and rightly understood, Cranmer observed to the King;

"Nevertheless, in my opinion, when such things be altered or taken away, there should be set forth some doctrine therewith, which should declare the cause of the abolishings or alterations, for to satisfy the consciences of your people: for if the honouring of the crosses, as creeping and kneeling thereto, be taken away, it shall seem to many that be ignorant, that the honour of Christ is taken away, unless some good teaching be set forth withal to instruct them, sufficiently therein; which if your Majesty command the bishops of *Worcester* and *Chichester*, with other your Grace's other chaplains to make, the people shall obey your Majesty's commandment willingly, giving thanks to your Majesty if they know the truth, which else they would obey with murmurations and grudgings. And it shall be a satisfaction to all other nations, when they shall see your Majesty do nothing but by the authority of God's word, and to the setting forth of God's honour, and not the diminishing thereof, &c."

not fully ripe; the proper season was not yet come “for gathering the tares, and binding them in bundles to burn them *.”

The *Injunctions* published in 1536, which I have already slightly noticed, were, as well as the *Primers* and *Articles*, extremely favourable to the interests of the reformers. These *Injunctions*, though probably composed by CRANMER, were published in the King's name by CROMWELL, who, since *Henry's* being declared *supreme head of the church*, had been appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, and the King's Vicar-general, or Vicegerent, in all ecclesiastical affairs. The *Injunctions* require “the clergy frequently to publish to the people that the power of the Bishop of Rome is usurped; and has no foundation either in the word of God, or the law of the land. The clergy are to declare the *Articles* lately published, and to explain which are articles of faith, and which relate to ceremonies and ecclesiastical polity. They are not to extol images or relics for gain, but to teach the people to keep God's commandments. Instead of recommending pilgrimages, they were to inform the people that they served God more acceptably by attending to the proper business of their respective stations; and that the money spent in pilgrimages would be better employed in charity to the poor.—They were to exhort the people to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments, in the vulgar tongue, and further, to instruct them in the principles of religion. The incumbents of the greater livings were required, for every hundred pounds a year they received, to give an exhibition to a poor scholar, either at a grammar-school, or the university: and all were obliged to appropriate a fifth part of their annual income, where so large a proportion was necessary, to the repair of their parsonage, or vicarage houses, and afterwards to keep them in a decent state of repair. In particular, the

* Matt. xiii. 3.

clergy themselves were to be diligent in teaching the people: not to frequent games and public houses unnecessarily; but to apply to the study of Holy Scripture; to frame their lives accordingly, and to be examples to others to live well *."

These are the principal heads of the Injunctions, the whole of which gave great offence to a corrupt clergy, and to many of the laity attached to the *ancient* religion. The Injunction last mentioned increased the labours of the secular clergy, and imposed those decent restraints, which few of them had been accustomed to observe. One Injunction burthened them with additional expences, which however their lawful revenues enabled them easily to supply, whilst another, by abolishing a lucrative branch of ecclesiastical commerce, cut off a very fertile source of their opulence. The Injunctions concerning relics, pilgrimages, and the education of young persons in the principles of Christianity, ordained that as a duty, for which, as a crime, protestants had lately been punished with death, unless they purchased a pardon by recantation, or at least by silence †. Hence the king, who professed to maintain the *old* religion, was suspected of heretical innovation. The abolition of the smaller monasteries had already alienated the affections of a great part of the *regular* clergy. In their outcries against the government, they

* The preamble shews, that these injunctions were addressed to *deans, parsons, vicars, &c.* Cromwell, as vicegerent, was invested by delegation with the King's whole power in ecclesiastical affairs, and of course with authority over the bishops. Yet, probably out of respect for their order, he here exercises no act of vicegerency over them.

† Bur. P. 1. b. iii. p. 226. Perhaps the punishment inflicted on the *Lollards* was not entirely in consequence of the practices and opinions here enumerated. Some of them maintained, that allegiance and obedience might and ought to be withdrawn from the king, or supreme magistrate, under circumstances, which it is not necessary to particularize. It is enough to say, that some of the *Lollards* appear to have supported positions, which no civil government whatever, regardless of its own safety, can allow to be propagated with impunity. *Lollards, Wickliffites, Hussites, Bohemian Brethren, &c.*, are titles, by which *protestants* were generally meant.

were

were now joined by a numerous body of the *secular* clergy, or parochial priests: and both parties, who were ready enough to admit Henry's supremacy, when it was exercised in their own favour, complained that the Injunctions were not sanctioned by the Convocation: for it is, indeed, worthy of observation, that the promulgating of these Injunctions, was the first act of pure supremacy, which the king had exercised. The superior abbots, likewise, from the fate of the smaller monasteries, foreseeing that their own establishments and immunities might hereafter be invaded, sounded the alarm, though less openly, and the credulous multitude were led to believe, that "it was better to live under the Turk than the King's Vicegerent." In short, the King's Injunctions *, and CROMWELL's activity in promoting the reformation, and suppressing the monasteries, gave rise this year to three rebellions, all of which were principally fomented by the clergy attached to the ancient superstition. In the first, a Prior of Barkings in Lincolnshire, disguised as a cobbler †, and conducted by a monk, contrived to raise a tumultuary army of 20,000 men ‡.

In the Convocation held this year, a vote was passed, through the influence of Cranmer, Latimer, and some other bishops who were supposed to deliver the sentiments of the King, for publishing a new translation of the Scriptures. This was thought an important victory gained by the reformers.

The next year, 1537 §, the Archbishop, with Latimer, and the commissioners, compiled another short treatise, which

* The secular priests, according to *Hume*, found themselves reduced, by the Injunctions, to a *grievous servitude*. By what article of the Injunctions were they so reduced?

† His real name was Dr. Mackerel: the title of *Captain Cobbler* was assumed on the occasion.

‡ Fuller, Burnet, Collier, Strype, Heylin, Hume.

§ This is the date generally ascribed to the *institution*. Collier, however, who cites no authority, says it was *published* this year, but was drawn up *three years before*, and in *convocation*. In these two last assertions, he is probably mistaken.

was afterwards reviewed by the King *, and ratified by parliament. This was the celebrated “Bishop’s Book †,” or “the godly and pious institution of a Christian man.” It was designed as a rule of religious belief, and morals; as a guide both to the clergy and people. It contained an exposition of the *Creed*, the *seven Sacraments*, the *ten Commandments*, the *Lord’s Prayer*, the *Ave Maria*, with a discourse on *Justification*, and another on *Purgatory*. These subjects are treated at very considerable length, and in a mode extremely different from what had been used under the ancient superstition. In particular, the exposition of the Lord’s Prayer is excellent in itself, and unexceptionable in point of doctrine. The same may be said in general of the exposition of the Creed, on every article of which there is a copious paraphrase, with practical inferences subjoined. Bishop Burnet, speaking of this explanation of the Creed, declares “he must acknowledge, that after all the practical books which in his day had been written, he found great edification in reading that over and over again.” What the bishop has further remarked of the style of the exposition of the Creed, is in general true of all the other tracts of the institution, “it is strong, nervous, and well fitted for the weakest capacities ‡.”

* Henry, at his leisure, corrected and augmented it; and submitted his animadversions to Cranmer’s judgment. The Archbishop made annotations on such of the royal corrections as he thought improper, especially where the King’s alterations were favourable to the old corruptions. In his letter to Cromwell, which accompanied his remarks, he says, “I trust the King’s Highness will pardon my presumption that I have been so scrupulous, making a great matter of every little fault, or rather where there is no fault at all. Which I do that because the book will be set forth by his Grace’s judgment, I would have nothing therein that *Momus* could reprehend. In divers places I have made annotations, which places nevertheless I dislike not.” Strype’s *Cran.*

† The commissioners who composed it were principally *Bishops*.

‡ Vol. I. p. 288.

As copies of the institution are extremely rare, I shall present the reader with an abstract of a few of such parts, as appear the most singular and characteristic.

The exposition of the *Creed* maintains Christ's local descent into Hell: and by *Hell* is meant not the Hebrew *Sheol*, the Greek *Hades*, or the Latin *Inferi*, but the *place of the damned*. By this descent, in his state of separation, he triumphed over the kingdom of Darkness, rescued those that died in the favour of God, and in the expectation of the promised Messiah, and thus reversed the sentence of condemnation pronounced on Adam.

Under the article, *Holy Catholic Church*, the church of Rome is declared to be only a part of the Catholic Church, and its bishop, to have no jurisdiction in the churches of England, France, Spain, or of any other foreign realm. The *Catholic Church* is described, as a body comprehending all assemblies of men over the whole world, who receive the faith of Christ, hold unity of love, and rightly use the Sacraments*. To the Catholic Church are confined remission of sins, and eternal salvation. Against Heretics, and Infidels of every age, and under every circumstance, a severe sentence is pronounced.

After the *Creed*, each of the *seven Sacraments* is explained. Among these a distinction is made. To Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, a preference is given on account of their being instituted by Christ, and made necessary to salvation.

The *ten Commandments* are divided, as they now remain in our catechism, and office of communion, into four of the first, and six of the second table. In the exposition of the second Commandment, bowing to images is forbidden.

Ave Maria is pronounced not to be a prayer, for there is no supplication in it, but it is subjoined to the Lord's Prayer in the nature of a hymn.

Justification is declared to be granted through the merits of our Saviour, and no good works performed by us can pro-

* See our xxth article.

cure God's favour. Still Justification depends upon conditions that we are to perform, such as trust in God, and obedience to the commands of Christ.

The article on *Purgatory* maintains the antiquity of praying for the dead, but protests against the efficacy of papal pardons, &c. in delivering souls from penal suffering.

In the same year, (1537) to Cranmer's inexpressible satisfaction *, appeared a new edition of a translation of the Holy Bible into English. A copy of it was presented to the King, by Cromwell, at the request of the Archbishop, and royal *injunctions* were issued, commanding "all incumbents to provide one of these Bibles, and to set it up publicly in the church, and to encourage all persons to read it, as being the true lively word of God, what every Christian ought to believe, embrace and follow, if he expected to be saved."

These Injunctions likewise required the parson, on every Sunday and holiday, to repeat out of the *Lord's Prayer*, or *Creed*, a sentence in *English*, till the people had learnt the whole by heart. On these heads, the clergy were to examine the people, at confession, in Lent; and according to their proficiency, to admit them, or refuse to admit them, to the sacrament at Easter. The people were directed not to *knoll Aves* after the service, as they had been accustomed to do, on the supposition that repeating *Aves* obtained pardon, and absolution from the Pope. In *processions*, it had been customary to say, *Ora pro nobis*, that is, *pray for us*, to such a multitude of saints, that the people had no time to address the

* The tidings of the licensing of it," he said, "did him more good than the gift of 10,000 pounds. This book was printed with marginal notes, and explanations that gave great offence to the popish party. From one of these notes, on the words, *What new doctrine is this?* (Mark i. 27.) we may ascertain the year in which this part of the volume was prepared for the press. The note is, "that what was then *new*, after xv. c. xxxvi years, is yet *new*. When will it then be *old*?" The note was intended to counteract the reproach cast upon the *reformed religion*, which the Papists called, the *new upstart religion*, the *new-fangled doctrine*, the *new learning*, &c.

Almighty, and say, *Parce nobis, Domine; Libera nos, Domine;* that is, *Spare us, Lord; Lord deliver us.* They were now taught that it was better to omit the addresses to the saints, and to repeat the supplications made to God.

Of the Bible abovementioned, no more than fifteen hundred copies* were printed: the Injunctions to read it, and set it up in churches, could not therefore be universally obeyed. To supply the deficiency, a proclamation was issued in May, 1541, immediately after the publication of the English Bible, to which Cranmer prefixed a preface, commanding all curates and parishioners, who were not furnished with the first authorised edition, “to provide themselves before All-hallow tide next following,” and to cause the book to be conveniently placed in their respective churches. All bishops and ordinaries were strictly required to see that the command was put in execution.

The proclamation was accompanied with instructions to the clergy, which they were ordered to publish in their several churches. The purport of the instructions was “to assure the people of the King’s good affection for them, in suffering them to have the benefit of so heavenly a treasure; and to direct them to read the book to their greater comfort, the

* These 1500 copies, *Grafton* printed at the expence of £.500. He soon had occasion to apply to *Cromwell* for the suppression of a surreptitious edition, by some Dutchmen, in a smaller type, “which else,” he said, “would tend to his undoing.” The letter of *Grafton* to *Cromwell* is a curiosity; and were not the cost of paper, and printing, increased in a ratio of which poor *Grafton* had no conception, I should here amuse the reader by presenting him with a copy of it. Still it should be remembered, that £.500, though embarked on such a bottom, by a King’s printer, who was patronized by the Vicegerent, and the Archbishop, was a considerable sum, when royal munificence granted to *Ascham* a pension of £.10 a year. Mr. Hume would reduce this number two thirds. He affirms that but 500 were printed—ch. 32. A. D. 1542. He likewise confounds the Bible, published in 1537, with Cranmer’s, which appeared in 1541. His account of the dates and contents of the *institution*, and *erudition*, is equally *incorrect*, and *malevolent*.

reforma-

reformation of their lives, and the peace and quiet of the church *."

But in the ensuing year, these concessions were entirely revoked. Henry affected to have discovered, that "the reading of the Old and New Testaments tended to seduce the people, and to raise sedition." It was therefore enacted by parliament †, on whom the King contrived to throw the odium of a proceeding so contrary to his late *Injunctions*, *Proclamation*, and *Instructions*, "that Tyndal's translation should be abolished, and others be purged, by cutting or blotting out all preambles, and annotations; that the Bible should not be read openly in any church, but by the leave of the King, nor privately by any women, apprentices, artificers," &c.

After *Cromwell's* influence with the King began to decline, was passed the act of the six articles. Henry, in a proclamation issued in the beginning of May, 1539, gave to the protestants no obscure intimation of what he meant this act to effect. It stated, that "his Majesty, like a godlike and catholic prince, knowing and considering his kingly office and charge, had resolved to reduce his people to uniformity in religion, and to extinguish all diversities of opinion, by *terrible* laws to be made by his parliament." At the introduction of the bill, the Lord Chancellor informed the peers, that the King himself, with the lords spiritual, had paid great attention to the drawing up of these articles. Cromwell, lord privy seal, did not rise to speak, knowing that

* Heylin's church of England justified.

† 34, 35, Henry VIII. c. 1. This act does not appear to have been so implicitly obeyed as Henry expected. A spirit of free inquiry in matters of religion had arisen among our protestant forefathers. The King, therefore, about three or four years after, in order to give energy to a penal statute, followed it up with a royal proclamation. Henry's Parliament had at this time resigned its civil, as well as its religious liberties, to the Monarch, and by a positive statute, had given to a royal proclamation, the force of a law.

the King was determined that the bill should pass. Cranmer, however, combated its principles through every stage. Of the arguments, which he employed, we have no record; but from Henry's desiring afterward to be favoured with a copy of their outline, we may conjecture that they were worthy of the well-earned reputation of the Archbishop. The bill in short met with such vigorous opposition, that it must inevitably have been thrown out, had not Henry himself entered the house, and peremptorily commanded the lords to pass it. At the third reading, the Archbishop was requested by the King to retire, but he did not leave the assembly till he had given his vote against the bill's passing into a law.

Henry knew the integrity of Cranmer, and was too generous to be displeased with him for opposing a measure, which though not defensible in itself, was thought necessary for political purposes. After the act was passed, the King sent for him to console him under this mortification, and to assure him of his favour. He likewise directed Cromwell, with the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, to dine with the Archbishop at Lambeth, and to acquaint him with the high regard the King had for him. At this dinner an unfortunate, and, as I conceive, an unpremeditated quarrel took place between the Lord Cromwell and the Duke of Norfolk. Though it was suppressed at the time by the interference of the Archbishop, it continued to rankle in the breast of Norfolk, whose vengeance seems to have been appeased only by the destruction of his adversary*.

The

* This quarrel furnishes an additional reason for the future enmity of the Duke of Norfolk towards Cromwell. In the conversation at table, a comparison was made between the principles and manners of Cranmer and Woolsey, with a view to compliment the Archbishop at the expence of the Cardinal; in the course of which, Norfolk among other opprobrious accusations, taxed Cromwell with having consented, in case Woolsey should obtain the pontifical chair, to become his *Admiral*. This charge Cromwell not only denied, but retorted, declaring,

The Act of the *Six Articles*, Protestant writers have entitled the *bloody Bill*, and the *whip with six thongs*. It obliged the Archbishop to dismiss his wife*, who was sent to her friends in Germany. It compelled honest *Latimer* to resign his bishopric, which he exchanged for a prison. The penalty for denying the *first* of the six articles, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, was *death by fire*, with the forfeiture of all real and personal estates. Whoever *wrote, preached, or spoke* against it, was to be burnt without the privilege of *abjuration*. Such a severity had not hitherto been exercised in England, and a proceeding so sanguinary has rarely disgraced the Inquisition. Rigorous as this act was, it still afforded one consolation to the reformers. Their lives and property were not left at the mercy of the clergy, and of the ecclesiastical courts. Their trial, as Burnet † has remarked, was by a jury ‡, where they might expect more candid and liberal treatment.

And, indeed, while Cromwell lived, though he was unable to preserve all, yet few perished by this law. But after

declaring, that as secretary to Woolsey, he knew that Norfolk had agreed to accept this office, and specifying the precise sum which he had stipulated to receive as the terms of his acceptance of it. And it seems probable that Norfolk was aware that this dishonourable engagement could be effectually concealed only by Cromwell's death. (Parker's *Antiq. Brit. Fox, Burnet, &c.*)

* She was the niece of Osiander, a celebrated protestant divine of Nuremberg, with whom Cranmer became acquainted while he was employed on the embassy to the Emperor on the subject of Henry's first *divorce*. During his attendance on the Emperor's court, Cranmer had an opportunity of satisfying many of the council and learned Germans, of the illegality of the marriage. It was probably at his instigation, that Osiander wrote a treatise on incestuous Marriages, the object of which was to prove Henry's marriage with Catharine unlawful.

† Book I. part III. page 260.

‡ That is, by commissioners nominated by the King, of whom the Archbishop or Bishop of the diocese was to be one.

he was put to death *, and Gardiner and Norfolk were invested with the direction of the King's councils, a furious persecution was carried on against the Protestants under this act, *and the land was defiled with their blood* †. But "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church;" and it is the observation of the first English infidel of notoriety ‡, that "the

* He was arrested at the council-board by *Norfolk*, in June, 1540, on an accusation of high treason; and the house of peers thought proper, without trial, examination or evidence, to condemn to death the man, whom a few days before they had declared worthy to be Vicar-general of the universe. That Cromwell was a heretic, (i. e. a protestant) had protected heretics from punishment, written to sheriffs to set them at liberty, checked informers, favoured the new preachers, and procured many heretical books to be translated into English, were the principal of the crimes enumerated in the act of attainder, of which his enemies could prove him guilty. The story about his *treasonable words*, and the *dagger*, is ridiculous; and were it true, Cromwell was entitled to a situation, not in the *Tower*, but in the hospital of St. *Mary of Bethlem*, which was purchased about this period, for the reception of *lunatics*. From the well known capriciousness of Henry, Cromwell was prepared for a diminution of the royal favour; but the plot of Gardiner and Norfolk was conducted with such secrecy, that the tempest by which he was overwhelmed, burst unexpectedly upon him.

After his arrest, Cromwell was forsaken by all his friends, except Cranmer, who had the honesty and boldness to represent to the King, the innocence and fidelity of a fallen favourite. Cromwell was executed in July, 1540, and Henry is said to have expressed remorse for this act of flagrant injustice. (Hume, Burnet, Collier, Herbert, &c.) The following are the words of *Parker*, the second protestant Archbishop of Canterbury. Cromwellus pontificiorum odiis capitis accusatus, sine sui defensione primus præter exemplum condemnatus est. Quo non fuit aut religione erga Deum, aut fidelitate in Regem, aut prudentia in Rempublicam, aut in bene meritos gratitudine, aut in omnes pietate, charitate, ac benevolentia majore tunc in Anglia quisquam. (Antiq. Brit. p. 334. Ed. Han. 1605.)

† The horrid massacre committed from day to day under this act, was more particularly confined within the precincts of the diocese of London, of which see, *Bonner*, or as he is frequently called, *the bloody Butcher*, was then Bishop.

‡ Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, author of the Life of Henry VIII., and of a work entitled, *De veritate*, &c. The object of the latter was

“the persecution of the Protestants did but advance their religion; and it was thought that they had some assistance from above, it being impossible otherwise that they should so rejoice in the midst of their torments, and triumph over the most cruel death.”

In 1543, about six years after its first publication, *the Bishop's Book*, or the *Institution of a Christian Man*, underwent a review, by a Committee of Divines appointed by the King. At this review, several alterations, and many considerable additions were made. The book, thus reformed and enlarged, was approved of by a majority in both houses of parliament, and published by the King's authority, under the title of *A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. Of the *Institution*, I have already given an abstract. The account of the *Erudition*, I shall confine principally to those points in which it differs from the *Institution*.

To the *Erudition* are prefixed two prefaces; one by the Compilers, and another by the King. The former sets forth the care with which the Commissioners had examined the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of the ancient Doctors, from which, it says, they had collected the present Exposition of Christian faith. His Majesty states, that since he had allowed the publication of the Scriptures in English, some, by wresting the holy text, had occasioned disputes and diversity of opinions: that therefore several ranks were prohibited by the legislature from reading the Bible: and that to recover the people to orthodoxy and unity, he had set forth this summary of religion. The preface then proceeds to the subject of the *Erudition*, enumerates the articles it contains, and assigns reasons for the mode of their arrangement.

to shew the sufficiency of natural religion, and to discredit all revelation. Yet the author solemnly tells us, that the book was published in consequence of his receiving a something, which he took for an extraordinary revelation, and for the truth of which, however improbable, we have only his own unsupported assertion.

The *Erudition* begins with the article of *Faith*, it being thought proper that the exposition of Christian belief should be preceded by a declaration of the meaning of *faith in general*. That is declared to be saving faith, which is professed by Christians at baptism, (viz.) “such a belief, as begets submission to the will of God, and hath Hope, Love, and Obedience to God’s commandments joined to it. This was Abraham’s faith.—We may not think that we are *justified by Faith*, as it is a virtue separate from Hope, Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance. It (faith that justifies) contains obedience to the whole doctrine and religion of Christ.”—To prevent too much reliance on bare belief, or confident persuasion, and to preserve men from the extremes of presumption, and despair, the authors declare, that “for the definition of faith which some proposed, as if it was a certainty that one was *predestinated*, they found nothing of this in either the Scriptures or Doctors, and they thought it could not be known.” It is added, “though God never fails in his promises to men, yet such is the frailty of men, that they often fail in their promises to God, and thus forfeit their right to the promises, which are all made on conditions that depend on us*.”

Beside the treatise on *Faith*, we find in the *Erudition* two other distinct discourses, on *free will*, and *good works*. In the *Institution*, none of these three subjects is expressly treated of, nor indeed mentioned, except incidentally; we must, therefore, in these articles, consider the *Erudition* as a supplement to the *Institution*.

In the exposition of the Creed, under the article of *Christ’s descent into Hell*, the design of his going thither is handled more briefly, and in more general terms: yet in both books the word is used to signify the place of torment.

* This treatise on Faith was composed by Dr. Redman, one of the compilers of our English Liturgy, and one of the most learned and judicious divines of the age.

In the article of our *Saviour's sitting at the right hand of the Father*, both books mention his intercession, but the latter adds a caution, that though the intercession of saints, and of the church militant, may be serviceable, yet this is only by virtue of the mediation of Christ.—Under the head *Catholic Church*, the *Erudition* refines upon the former volume. It constitutes kings, heads of particular churches, and gives them superintendence in the appointment of bishops.—On *Communion of Saints*, the *Erudition* is less full and explicit against the Pope's power to dispense the *treasures* of the church, than the *Institution* is, which likewise, on the last article of the Creed, declares good men made happy, not so much for their own good works, as through the mercy of God, and the atonement of Christ. On this the *Erudition* is here silent.

Under the article *Sacrament of the Altar*, the *Erudition* evidently maintains *transubstantiation*, which the *Institution* did not. But the Act of the *six Articles* had been passed, and Cromwell was executed. If Cranmer was not now compelled to bend to the law, if he now ventured to speak either against *transubstantiation*, or the sufficiency of receiving only in one kind, he was out-voted.

Under the fifth commandment, in both books sufficient stress is laid upon the duty of unlimited *passive obedience* in the subject, in all cases, without exception.

Between the two books, I shall notice in particular only one more difference. The latter does not give to Baptism, the Eucharist, and Penance, the decided preference, which had been given by the former; and it may be observed, in general, that the *Erudition* inclines to the doctrine of the *six Articles*, and, on controversial points, occasionally favours the Romanists, more than the *Institution* had done*.

Towards

* I long wondered at Strype's saying, (Mem. Vol. I. page 381) that the *Erudition* was so changed, that it may seem to be another book, rather than a new edition of the *Institution*; but it is evident that he

Towards the close of this reign, some *Injunctions*, which appear not unfavourable to the principles of the reformation, were published; such are the orders about putting down images, &c. and more especially we may notice the direction, which invests the officiating minister with a discretionary power of omitting the mention of the saints in the public service. The severities of the Act of the *six Articles* were also softened by moderation in its execution. The English Bible was again *set up* in churches, and, on Sundays, and holidays, the Curate was directed to read to the people a chapter of the New Testament. In 1544, about the time of the King's expedition against *Boulogne*, Cranmer drew up a *Litany* in the English tongue. This *Litany*, or *procession*, as it was then termed, was appointed to be sung in the choir, on every fourth, and sixth day in the week, that the people might "in becoming harmony, and with one voice, holily, and piously, not only with their lips, but with purity of heart, adore the Almighty God of Hosts, the sole giver of all victory *." Prayers, and suffrages in *English*, on account of immoderate rains, and on other occasions, were likewise ordered to be read throughout all the churches, more frequently than had formerly been done. In promoting this practice, Cranmer is supposed to have had the principal merit. About this period, Gardiner had the ascendancy at court, and the Popish party carried all before it. Still the Archbishop hoped that the people, by understanding only a small part of their prayers, might in time be desirous to have the whole service rendered intelligible.

He mistook the *Articles* of 1536, mentioned in the fifth page of this Introduction, for the *Institution*. The *Institution* he fancied was printed in the Addenda to Burnet's first volume, page 305. But that is a copy of the *Articles*, given by Fuller, book v. page 213. and by Collier, Vol. II. page 122. The *Articles* of 1536, and the *Institution* of 1537, are indeed very different books: as different, as two didactic treatises on similar subjects, by the same persons, can be supposed to be.

* Archbishop Cranmer's Letter to the Bishops, and the Order of the Council.

These

These are the principal advantages, so far at least as the Liturgy and public worship are concerned, that Cranmer, Cromwell, and the friends of reformation were enabled to gain in the time of Henry: and it must be acknowledged, that they appear inconsiderable, and almost contemptible, when compared with the great work that was accomplished in the short reign of his successor. But Cranmer had to contend with one of the strongest popular prejudices, and was supported by only a small number of adherents. They were indeed honest, and conscientious; and several of them were learned; yet amidst the weakness and imprudence of the greater part, a few only are known to have rendered any essential service to the cause in which they had engaged. When to the imbecility of Cranmer's instruments, we see opposed the address and influence of Gardiner, the treachery of Bonner, the desertion of others, the rancour too common both to the leaders and followers of the popish party, together with the notorious prostitution of the courtiers in general, we may form some conception, how arduous must have been the post, held by the Archbishop, from the fall of Cromwell to the death of Henry. The conduct of this violent and capricious monarch, and the servile obsequiousness of his parliaments, shew, that by virtue of his new title, *supreme head of the church*, he was supposed to possess, or at least permitted to exercise, the same enormous powers, that had been formerly usurped by the Roman Pontiffs. Though, principally for political purposes, he renounced the jurisdiction of the see of Rome, he remained attached to the greater part of its worst errors*; and, to the contemplative mind, it must ever afford matter of surprise, that in this reign, so much, rather than so little, was effected in favour of the reformation.

* He severely persecuted those who dissented from it: and died, though excommunicate, in that faith and doctrine, which he had, as it were sucked in with his mother's milk, and of which he shewed himself so strenuous a champion against Luther. (See Pref. to Heylin's Reform.)

On the accession of Edward VI. a more favourable prospect was opened to the reformers. The young monarch having been educated in the principles of protestantism, and few members of the regency retaining much attachment to the interests of popery, there no longer existed in government any material obstacle to the progress of the reformation; and measures as active and vigorous, as circumstances would admit, were accordingly pursued for its establishment *.

In

* Somerset, Lord Protector, and many of the courtiers; as well as Cranmer, a few of the bishops, and other protestants, were industrious in promoting the reformation, but from motives totally different from theirs. The object of Cranmer was to rectify abuses in the public worship; that of the courtiers, to enrich themselves with the spoils of the church. The members of parliament, who differed in their religious sentiments, agreed in the principle "of striking in with the juncture, and taking care of themselves." Some of the members of the House of Commons, who had supported the doctrines of the late reign, and were still cordially affected to them, became apprehensive that the near approximation of these doctrines to those of the Romish church, might eventually terminate in an union with the Pope: and such a coalition they foresaw might endanger their quiet possession of the "goodly patrimony" lately pillaged from the church. Others, who wished to improve, or repair their fortunes, would naturally vote for any *reform*, likely to be subservient to their own views. The acts of Edward's parliament concerning religion, wear a strange and motley aspect. In some instances it is but too evident, that the spoliation of ecclesiastical estates, and the enrichment of particular families, were, both by the regency and parliament, more attended to, than either "the good of Christ's church, or the glory of God." However solicitous Cranmer might be to correct abuses practised by the priests, belonging to the *colleges*, *free-chapels*, and *chauntries*, he shewed himself a strenuous opposer of the abolition of these rich foundations, during the minority of the king: but his counsel was over-ruled, and in the space of a very few years, ninety-two *colleges*, (the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were spared) and two thousand, three hundred, and seventy-four *chauntries* and *free-chapels*, were devoured by the greater *barpies* of the court. Many of the inferior lords, and others, who had disguised their private aims, under pretence of doing good to the public, preferred their complaints, upon the attainder of the Protector, in the hope of sharing a part of the offices or property engrossed by him, that they

In order to qualify the clergy * to instruct the people in the principles of religion, and the terms of salvation, according to the gospel, the Archbishop, probably with the occasional assistance of Ridley and of Latimer, composed those twelve discourses that now stand in the former part of the book of Homilies †. To diffuse the knowledge of Holy Scripture, the Paraphrase of Erasmus on the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, was translated into English, and printed; his Paraphrase on the Epistles not being yet published. For the instruction of children and young persons, the Archbishop published a catechism in English ‡. He also wrote this year in English, an elaborate discourse on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, of which he afterward published a very elegant Latin translation §.

The command that the Homilies should be read in churches by such priests as could not preach, was the only innovation at first made in the public worship: and, for a considerable time, all the rites and ceremonies continued nearly the same as in the former reign. The King, the Primate, and the

they had not had their *equal dividend*, when the lands of the colleges, &c. *were given up for a prey*. (Our ecclesiastical Historians in general, Heylin in particular.)

* Heylin, Burnet, Fuller, Collier, Strype.

† The Homilies were immediately translated into Latin, and were highly gratifying to the foreign protestants. Bucer, in a congratulatory letter to the church of England, written in this year, extols the Homilies, and indirectly admonishes the governors of the church of the propriety of proceeding further in the reformation, and in particular of what related to the sacraments. "The foundations," he says, "were so rightly and judiciously laid in England, that nothing could be wanting towards building sound doctrine and discipline."

‡ This he translated from a Lutheran work in Latin, written in Germany: and though he made some additions accommodated to the English church, yet he adhered so far to his original, as to retain some things that seemed not perfectly in unison with his own sentiments, as they appear in his other works.

§ This work received its last polish in prison. It is rare, and valuable.

Protector, with the other members of the regency, were determined upon a thorough reform of abuses in religion : and were employed in deliberating upon the safest, and most efficacious means of carrying their designs into effect. It was judged expedient not to avow their intentions too openly, till towards the approach of the meeting of a parliament and a convocation. In September, 1547, about nine months after the King's accession, and about two before the meeting of parliament, an order was issued for holding a royal visitation throughout England, and for suspending, in the interim, the ordinary powers of the bishops. At this time a proclamation by the King, even during his minority, was equivalent to a statute. The object of the visitation was to regulate the affairs *of religion, and of the church*. The realm was divided into six districts, or circuits, to visit each of which a commission was appointed, consisting of two, or more gentlemen, a civilian, a registrar, and at least one of the ablest divines and preachers that could be found, who was to instruct the people, and facilitate the work of the commissioners. These visitors, though principally laymen, were armed with strong extensive powers, being authorised to visit both the clergy and the laity, to examine licences, faculties, endowments, and titles ; to enquire into the practices of the spiritual courts, and even to inspect every part of the episcopalian function. They carried with them books of the *Homilies*, one of which was left with each parish priest to be read to the people, that they might not forget, or be diverted from, what they had been taught by the preacher, who accompanied the commission. They likewise took with them and delivered, copies of the *Royal Injunctions*, and of the *Articles to be enquired of at the King's visitation*.

As the Injunctions are to be met with in Fox's Monuments, and Sparrow's Collection ; and abstracts of them at least in Fuller, Heylin, Burnet, Collier, and Strype, I shall content myself with giving, without much regard to the order in which they stand, the heads of a few of those that seem

to have been more particularly intended to correct the prejudices of the age, and to reduce the public worship nearer to the model of the primitive church.

The Injunctions command “all ecclesiastics to observe the laws for the abolition of the Pope’s pretended power, and for the confirmation of the King’s supremacy; and to instruct the people on those heads four times a year.—They are to dissuade them from undertaking *pilgrimages*, worshipping *images*, extolling *relics*, &c. to exhort them to the exercise of *Faith*, *Mercy*, and *Charity*.—*Images* abused by *offerings*, &c. were to be taken down; no candles burnt before any image; and no more than two lights to be placed upon the altar only, which are intended to shew, that Christ is the true light of the world. The word *papa* (*pope*) and the name and service of *Thomas Becket*, were to be expunged from the church books. All *shrines*, *coverings of shrines*, *candlesticks*, *trindals* or rolls of wax, *pictures*, &c. with every monument of feigned miracles, were to be destroyed. The people were to be instructed to do the same in their private houses, and cautioned against the superstition of sprinkling beds with holy water, of ringing holy bells, and of blessing with holy candles, to drive away devils, dreams, or phantasies.”

On the other hand, the Injunctions require the Bible of the larger volume in English, and the translation of the Paraphrase of the Gospels by Erasmus, to be placed in the church, in a convenient place, for the reading of the people; and on every Sunday, when there is no sermon, the Lord’s Prayer, the Apostles Creed, and the Ten Commandments in the vulgar tongue, are to be audibly recited from the pulpit. In Lent, the clergy were to examine, whether such as came to confession could repeat the Lord’s Prayer, &c. and if they were not perfect in them, to admonish them to learn these necessary things more perfectly, before they presumed to come to God’s board. One chapter of the New Testament was to be read at mattins, and another out of the Old Testament at evening song. In the office of the mass, or sacrament of
the

the altar, the epistle and gospel were to be read in English, and not in Latin, and from such convenient place as the people might hear. Processions about the church, and church-yard, were forbidden, and the priests and quire, kneeling in the midst of the church, were to sing, or say, plainly and distinctly, the *Litany set forth in English, with all the suffrages following*, adding nothing thereto.—On holidays, three out of the nine lessons appointed in the Breviary at mattins were to be omitted, with the responds; and at even song, the responds, with all the *memories*, were to be left out.—No person was to violate any ceremony of the church, nor to alter any part of the service, otherwise than specified in these Injunctions.

With the *Injunctions* were printed, *Articles of Visitation*, which were likewise distributed by the commissioners through their respective districts. These are addressed first to bishops, archdeacons, and ecclesiastical officers;—secondly, to parsons, vicars and curates;—and, thirdly, to the lay-people. So far as the two latter classes are concerned, they do not very materially differ from Cranmer's Articles of Visitation, issued in the ensuing year, and reprinted by Sparrow. Both principally consist of interrogatories formed upon the principles laid down in the Royal Injunctions.—From *the articles of the royal visitation*, I here abridge and throw together a few of those addressed to the parochial clergy.

“Have you justly, truly, and without dissimulation, preached against the pretended power of the Bishop of Rome, and declared that the King's authority is most supreme, under God, in this realm?—Do misused images, shrines, shoes, offerings, trindals of wax, or other monuments of idolatry, superstition or hypocrisy, remain in churches, or elsewhere?—Have you, on Sundays and holidays, taught your parishioners, and especially the youth, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer*, and

* Latimer, who was now released from prison, and preached at St. Paul's Cross, January 1, 1547-8, the better to imprint the Lord's Prayer upon

and the ten Commandments, and expounded the same?—Have you provided and disposed, in a convenient place, the English Bible; and moved the people to hear and read the Scripture in English, and to pray in a known tongue?—Have you, in Lent, required your parishioners in their confession, to recite in English the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of Faith, and the ten Commandments, and declared that they ought to know, and understand them, before they receive the sacrament of the altar?—Have you preached, purely and sincerely, the word of God, and the faith of Christ, exhorting your parishioners to works commanded by Scripture, and not to works devised by men's phantasies?"

To prepare the way for the royal visitation, and the reception of the Injunctions; and in order to establish a precedent for the rest of the kingdom, the *compline*, or the last evening office, had been performed in English at the Chapel Royal: and in the cathedral church of St. Paul the Litany was sung in English, between the choir and the high altar, the singers kneeling, half of them on one side, and half on the other. On the same day, in the communion office, the epistle and gospel were read in the English tongue. The image of Christ, commonly called the *rood*, with other images in St. Paul's; and, indeed, all the images in the London churches were removed. The sentiments of the court being thus understood, and the *signs of the times* being sufficiently *discernible*, many of the clergy publicly retracted their late opinions, and in their sermons expressed their sorrow for their mistakes. Some of these retractations were, no doubt, sincere; but others, as was proved by the event, proceeded from temporizing motives. In short, the visitation was

upon the memory of the people, repeated it, especially in the country, both before, and after his sermon. Strype adds, that, "when any poor people came to him to ask an alms, he would oppose them with the Lord's Prayer, and bad them say it; and would cause his servants sometimes to require them to say it. Many would tell him, they could say the *Latin Pater Noster*; and others, that they could say their *Old Pater Noster*, but not the *New*, meaning the Lord's Prayer in *English*." (Mem. 1547.)

acceptable to many of the clergy, and to the laity in general *. By some of the clergy, it was disliked, and especially by Bonner, bishop of London, and Gardiner of Winchester. Gardiner, who by Henry's will, had no place in the regency, was the chief champion, that openly stood forward in the roman catholic cause, in opposition to the administration.

Before the return of the commissioners, Edward's first parliament was assembled. It repealed the statute of the Six Articles, as well as various statutes concerning doctrine, and matters of religion. It enacted that every person, depraving, despising, or contemning the sacrament of the altar, should be fined and imprisoned at the King's pleasure. In particular it decreed, that this sacrament should, agreeably to the unanimous resolve of the Convocation, be received by the laity in both kinds, "according to the truth of Scripture, and the most approved antiquity," and it directed a new office to be composed for the purpose †. This, with the royal proclamation

* *Old*, who was a preacher, and a visitor of what may be termed the Midland Circuit, informs us, that "the simple vulgar sort were glad; and conformably willing to hear the pure word of God, and obediently to receive the King's Injunctions."

† This office peculiarly required reformation. It has always been esteemed the most important part of the Liturgy of the Christian church, or rather, it alone was the Liturgy. (Renaudot. Lit. Orient. tom. I. p. 169.) That it now abounded with idle superstition, the Missal of Sarum, or any other of the age, will testify. But the divines appointed to draw up a new form did not reject every thing that was exceptionable. In fact, they did little more than change the *mass* into a *communion*, or rather annex the *communion* to the *mass*. From the tenor of the royal proclamation, prefixed to *the order of the communion*, it is evident that a farther reformation of this and other offices, was intended. "We would not," says the King, "have our subjects so much to dislike our judgment, so much to mistrust our zeal, as though we either could not discern what were to be done, or would not do all things in *due time*. God be praised, we know both what by his word is meet to be redressed, and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our Privy Council, with all diligence and convenient speed so to set forth the same, as it may most stand with God's glory, and edifying and quietness

mation prefixed, was published early in March, 1547-8. On the 13th of the same month, copies of the office, together with

quietness of our people." The proclamation requires the people to submit to *this order*, for this reason, "that We may be encouraged from time to time further to travel for the reformation, and setting forth such godly orders, as may be most to God's glory, the edifying of our subjects, and for the advancement of true religion."—Cranmer, who had now the sole direction of affairs purely ecclesiastical, foresaw the danger that might attend violent changes. To ensure the success of the reformation, he thought it advisable to proceed by gradual advances, and by movements as imperceptible as possible. On no other principle can we account for the motley hue of this office, in which the mass in *Latin*, as used before, was continued to the end of the Canon, and the priest's receiving the sacrament, "without the varying of any rite, or ceremony," except that he was to consecrate *more* wine than formerly, and "not drink it up all himself, but take one only sup, or draught, and leave the rest upon the altar."—The *Communion* began with the exhortation, *Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye coming to his holy Communion, must consider, &c.* The *Exhortation*, which is nearly the same with that in our present office, is followed by, *You that do truly and earnestly, &c.* the *Confession*, and the *Absolution*. The last begins, "Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to his church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy," &c. Then comes, *Hear what comfortable words, &c.* The last sentence from 1 John ii. 1, 2. is immediately followed by, *We do not presume to come to this thy table, &c.* which the priest, who had already received the sacrament, was to say only *in the name of the people*. After this, the *Consecration* having already taken place in the *Latin Mass*, said before the Communion, comes *the form* to be used at the distribution of the elements, which is succeeded by the final blessing.

In this *order of the Communion*, when the priest doth deliver the *Sacrament of the Body of Christ*, he shall say to every one, "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy *Body* unto everlasting life." And delivering the *Sacrament of the Blood*, and giving every one to drink once, and no more, he shall say, "The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy *Soul* unto everlasting life." These forms were thought to give an undue preference to the chalice. The *Body*, it was said, could preserve only the *Body*, whereas the *Blood* might preserve the *Soul*. Cranmer took care to have this rectified. Accordingly, in the first book of Edward, the

with letters of instruction from the council, were sent to the bishops, to be circulated through their respective dioceses, that the form might be understood by the clergy, explained to the people, and universally adopted at the approaching festival of Easter.

It was eagerly adopted by many of the clergy, and admitted by others, who still were dissatisfied that auricular confession should be left to the discretion of each individual. By some, who were attached to the *old office of the mass*, it was totally rejected. At this time, notwithstanding the King's *Injunctions*, the statute concerning the Communion, and various royal proclamations, there remained great diversity both of faith and worship. Several of the popish bishops, particularly *Gardiner* of Winchester, and *Bonner* of London, were dilatory in the execution of the late act of parliament, as well as of the royal mandates. To these, many of the parochial clergy likewise laboured to excite opposition; and, in their sermons, endeavoured to impress the people with an idea that the King meant to lay *strange and heavy imposts upon his subjects, and to exact half a crown for every funeral, baptism, or marriage*. On this account all preaching, except under licence obtained either from the Protector, or Archbishop, was suspended. But this expedient did not completely answer the purpose: for some, even of the licensed preachers, declaimed as violently, as their unlicensed brethren had lately done, against what they termed the King's *proceedings*; and it was the common practice of men of every description, who were either inimical to the administration, or averse to the reform made in religion, to pretend that the

words "thy body and soul," were united, and inserted in both the forms; as they are at this day. Yet in the prayer, immediately preceding the *Prayer of Consecration*, and beginning, "We do not presume to come to this thy table," we retain a remnant of the same distinction. We there pray "that our sinful *Bodies* may be clean by Christ's *Body*, and our *Souls* washed by his most precious *Blood*."—This *order of the Communion* is published in *Sparrow's Collection*, and at the end of *L'Estrange's Alliance*.

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order for the Communion, together with other regulations, was the act of persons about the King, and not of the King himself.

Whilst some thus refused to comply with the regulations established by law, “numbers,” as it is stated in a royal proclamation, “were not content to follow authority, according to the bounden duty of subjects, but over-ran it, and by their rashness became the greatest hinderers of what they would seem most hotly to set forward.” After what has been said, it is hardly necessary to add, that the office of the Communion, and all the other offices, were very differently performed in different parochial and cathedral churches.

These and other irregularities, Cranmer, and the council thought it advisable for a short time quietly to tolerate, and “the King abstained from punishing” what he styled the “frailty and weakness of his subjects, proceeding from a good zeal.” But the principles of the reformation having evidently taken firm possession of men’s minds in England, the regency determined that uniformity of worship should likewise be established throughout the realm. For it is deserving of notice, that hitherto there had not been in England any one service established by public authority for the general use of the church. In the southern parts of the island, the offices according to the use of Sarum, and in the northern, those of York, were generally followed. In South Wales the offices of Hereford were adopted, and in North Wales those of Bangor. The diocese of Lincoln had offices peculiar to itself, and in some places were used offices different from all the preceding*.

It should likewise be observed, that previously to the reformation, the prescribed service of the church was performed only in Latin†; and that even the purest Liturgies consisted

* It would appear, that more was left to the discretion of the clergy in this respect, than is commonly imagined.

† Yet a few of the clergy about this time performed the offices in general in English.

of sound, and primitive forms of prayer, debased by a strange mixture of superstitious tenets and idle ceremonies.

To prevent in future diversity of practice, to enable the people at large to understand the public service, and more especially to suppress popery, and to introduce a purer formulary of worship, the King and Council resolved that one public Liturgy should be composed in English, by commissioners selected from the clergy, and that it should be ratified by parliament. In pursuance of this resolution, the Archbishop of Canterbury, *Ridley*, afterwards bishop of London, and other eminent divines, were nominated*, to draw up, in *English*, a book of offices for the general use of the church.

The commissioners met in May, 1548. Having agreed to change nothing for the sake of change, but merely to endeavour, as far as circumstances would admit, to bring every thing back to the standard of the purer ages of the Gospel, by abolishing the erroneous doctrines, and in particular the

* The commission is, probably, not upon record; and in the statute the Archbishop only is named. The other commissioners are there called *most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of the realm*. Fuller, whose account is generally followed by subsequent writers, gives us a list of twelve more. But in this, as well as in other instances, Fuller's authority is somewhat questionable; it is certain that three of the bishops whom he mentions protested against the bill for authorising the book; and some of the divines, whom he names, are known to have been equally unfriendly to it. If their names were on the commission, it is not natural to suppose, that they afforded Cranmer and Ridley much assistance. The work probably passed through the hands of only a few. The common account is, that the commissioners were, beside the Primate, six Bishops, and six Divines. The bishops were, *Day* of Chichester, *Goodrich* of Ely, *Skip* of Hereford, *Holbeck* of Lincoln, *Ridley* of Rochester, and *Thirlby* of Westminster. The divines were, *May*, Dean of St. Paul's, *Taylor*, Dean of Lincoln, *Heins*, Dean of Exeter, *Robertson*, afterward Dean of Durham, *Redman*, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and *Cox*, Almoner to the King.

unnecessary ceremonies, which Popery had introduced, they proceeded to examine the Breviaries, Missals, and Rituals *, together with the books of other offices at that time in use. These they compared with ancient Liturgies, and the writings of the fathers. Whatever they found consonant to the doctrine of Scripture, and the worship of early christian churches, they generally retained, and frequently improved. But they rejected the numerous corruptions, and superstitious innovations that had been gradually brought in during the latter ages.

The compilers, it is generally said, began with the Morning Prayer. I do not know that any one, either of our ritualists, or commentators on the Liturgy, has described the office of Mattins, or Morning Prayer †, as this service was performed in the church of England prior to the reformation. A general, and summary account of it may therefore gratify curiosity, where easy access cannot be had to the books in which it is ordained. Such an account will illustrate the principles upon which the leaders of our reformation proceeded: and a comparison of *ancient* mattins, with the *mattins* in Edward's first book, will prove, that the object of the compilers of our Liturgy, was, according to their own account, "neither to please those who were so addicted to their old customs, that they thought it a great matter of conscience to depart from a piece of the least of their ceremonies," nor, "on the other hand, those who would innovate all things, and liked nothing that was not new ‡." They attempted "not so much to satisfy either of these parties, as to please God, and profit them both §."

* A general account of the contents of these books, and of their difference from each other, is given in p. 275 of the Elucidation in the note.

† These words are synonymous; mattins is indeed a little obsolete, but in the *tables of lessons for Sundays and holidays*, and of *psalms for certain days*, it is still employed to denote Morning Prayer. In these tables *Evensong* likewise stands for Evening Prayer.

‡ Discourse on Ceremonies.

§ Ibid.

Mattins, at this time, began with the Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, and the Creed, which were said with a low voice, or privately, by the priest and people, all kneeling. Then, all standing up, the four versicles, which in our office follow the Lord's Prayer, are said with a loud voice by the priest and people alternately. When the priest pronounces the first versicle, "O Lord, open thou my lips," he is directed by the rubric, with his thumb to sign his mouth with the sign of the cross; and at the third versicle, "O God, make speed to save me," he is, with his right hand, to cross himself from his forehead to his breast in one direction, and in a transverse line from the left shoulder to the right. After the versicles, follow Gloria Patri, and in general, Allelujah. Between Allelujah, and the invitatory psalm, or Venite exultemus, comes the Invitatory, which varies according to the season, or the day. After Venite, follows a metrical hymn. Then psalms are recited, and lessons read. In this part of the service there is a considerable variety on different days: but, to enter a little farther into particulars, I shall select the office of Mattins appointed for Christmas Day.

Excepting the Invitatory, which is changeable, till the end of Venite exultemus, the order of Mattins is every day the same. On Christmas Day an appropriate metrical hymn follows Venite. After the hymn, psalms 2, 18, 44 are recited. At the end of each are Antiphons, or Anthems: and after the last, the Lord's Prayer, a precatory Absolution, and a Benediction are said. The three following lessons from Isaiah are then read, ch. IX to ver. 7. ch. LX to ver. 8, and ch. LII to ver. 7. At the end of each lesson are added Responses, and Gloria Patri is sometimes sung.

In the second Nocturn*, Psalms 47, 71, and 84 are recited, with their respective Anthems. After the last, a Re-

* The first Nocturn was sometimes performed at nine, the second at midnight, and the third at three; but they were more generally united, and said in the morning.

sponse, an Absolution, and a Benediction, different from those in the first Nocturn, are said. The Lord's Prayer also is again repeated. Then follow three lessons, the fourth, fifth, and sixth, all taken from an Homily of *Leo the Great* on the Nativity *. These are nearly of the same length with the former lessons from Isaiah, and each is followed by Responses, Versicles, &c. as before.

In the third Nocturn are recited Psalms 88, 95, 97, with appropriate Anthems, &c. These are succeeded by what is called the *reading* of the Gospel according to St. Luke. The mode of reading will appear extraordinary. In the three last lessons, the reader only indicates the Gospels for the day †.—The seventh lesson at Mattins, or the first in the third Nocturn, begins with Luke, ch. II, ver. I. but only one verse is here read, and after it *et reliqua* is added. This verse is followed by an extract from one of *Gregory's* Homilies, preached on this Gospel on Christmas Day. The extract, which properly constitutes the lesson, is followed by a Response, &c. The eighth lesson begins with the recital of the 15th verse of Luke II, to which *et reliqua* is added as before. This is followed by a portion of a Homily by

* I here follow the Roman Breviary. In the *Portitory*, or Breviary of *Sarum*, printed in Mary's reign, the fourth Lesson is taken from *Possidorus* on the Nativity.

† This was peculiar to Christmas Day, on which there were three different epistles and gospels read in the three separate masses performed this day. The first was at midnight, the second at the dawn, and the third at mid-day. In Edward's first book, the Eucharist was *twice* celebrated on this day. In the *second* communion the Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, were different from those of the *first*. (For a more distinct account, I refer to the second volume of this work, if the power of finishing that volume be allowed.) In Edward's *second* book, the *first communion* was omitted. There were likewise two communions on Easter Day. The two latter Anthems now used instead of *Venite* at Morning Prayer on this day, were then said or sung in the morning *before Mattins*, and *Alleluiah* followed each.

Ambrose *, with Responses, &c. The ninth lesson is ver. 1 of ch. 1. of St. John's Gospel, with an appropriate portion of one of *Austin's* * Homilies. Then is said Te Deum, Dominus vobiscum, &c. and Mattins conclude with the collect of the day †.

By comparing this incomplete account with the Morning Prayer in Edward's first book, we may in general discover what our reformers either retained, or omitted, what they transposed, altered, or added. In the course of the Elucidation, I have noticed the greater part, or at least the most material, of these variations, in their respective places.

To return to the compilers: After finishing the Morning and Evening Prayer they proceeded to the other parts of the Liturgy. When the whole was completed, the book was presented by Cranmer to the young King, who received it with the highest marks of satisfaction. In the latter part of this year, 1548, and the second of Edward, "the book of the Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, after the use of the church of England ‡," received its civil sanction from the parliament, which enacted, "that the said form of Common Prayer, and no other should, after the feast of Pentecost next following, be used in all his Majesty's dominions." At the ensuing Easter, it has been asserted §, that
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* In the office of Sarum, by an extract from one of the Homilies of *Bede*.

† Dr. Bennet, who has calculated "what quantity of our several offices is taken from Popish Liturgies," (under which appellation I presume we must include the offices of Sarum, and of the Gallican church, as well as of the Romish,) informs us, that, setting aside whatever is borrowed from the Scripture, the Apocrypha, or the fathers of the first four centuries, "there remains in the Morning Prayer about one fourteenth part." The accuracy of all his calculations I undertake not to warrant.

‡ The title of the book.

§ By Heylin, in his *Ecclesia Restaurata*. But as he seldom produces evidence, or cites the authority that he followed, I refer to him with
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some began to officiate by this book : but the assertion must be erroneous, for no copy of the book was printed till after Easter. On Whitsunday, 1549, the new offices were adopted by the cathedral church of St. Paul *, in obedience to the statute, and as a precedent to the rest of the kingdom.

The first copy of the book was printed by *Grafton*, in a handsome folio, in May, 1549. On the 16th of June appeared another elegant edition by *Whitchurch*; and on the 8th of March following, a third was published, with no material variation †.

some diffidence, though I believe what he says to be in general well founded.

* This, I apprehend, was done by order of the *dean*, Dr. *May*, one of the compilers. *Bonner*, the bishop, continued to permit the *old masses* to be performed in the private chapels of the cathedral. For this and other offences he was summoned in June to appear before the council in August.

† I have examined copies of four editions, and find that in one of the two latter, the Litany is placed between the offices of Communion and Baptism, as in the two former; and that in the other, which is paged, there is no Litany. In all, the discourse on ceremonies is at the end of the volume. Three of the copies to which I allude are deposited in the British Museum. The other, that by *Whitchurch*, is *penes me*, through the kindness of a friend.

The price of *Grafton's* copy of Edward's first book, as settled by the Lord Protector and the Council, was, *two shillings and two-pence unbound*, and *three shillings and eight-pence bound in paste, or boards, covered with calves leather*. A copy bequeathed by the honourable Arthur Onslow to the British Museum, appears to have been once sold for *one pound sixteen shillings*. The price of the edition by *Whitchurch*, is *two shillings and two-pence unbound*, and *four shillings bound*.

The price of the *second* book, a very beautiful edition by *Grafton*, was in quires *two shillings and six-pence*, bound in parchment, or forell, *three shillings and four-pence*, and in leather, paper boards, or clasps, *four shillings*, and not above. It is likewise ordered, that the next edition, leaving out the offices of the Ordination and Consecration of Priests and Bishops, shall be sold for *two shillings in sheets*, for *two shillings and eight-pence in parchment*, and *three shillings and four-pence in leather*.

The Psalms are not printed in either of Edward's books, of course they who read the verses with the minister must have brought with them either a Bible, or Psalter.

It has already been observed, that the principle of Cranmer was to proceed gradually, and with moderation*. The first book of Edward retained many things, which might properly enough have been omitted. But the Archbishop was cautious of going too far at once, and of rejecting too much of what the people had been accustomed to hear and see. Yet soon after the publication of this book, we find him consulting such of the foreign protestant divines as were most celebrated for their learning and moderation, on the subjects of ecclesiastical discipline, and of a farther re-form in the Book of Common Prayer. But in particular, *Bucer* †, a German, and *Martyr*, a Florentine, who were now through Cranmer's recommendation, professors of divinity, the former in Cambridge, the latter in Oxford, were, at his special request, engaged in revising the Liturgy. The alterations they proposed were in general approved by the Archbishop, and afterwards adopted by the divines appointed to review the former book ‡.

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* During the whole reign of Edward, he met with continual opposition from Gardiner, and the leaders of the popish party. Gardiner controverted the doctrines contained in the Homilies, attempted to refute *Cranmer's* treatise on the Sacrament, and wrote various polemical tracts against him. Tumults, and insurrections, were likewise excited by the Romanists.

† *Bucer* did not come to England so soon as was expected by the Archbishop, and was therefore more earnestly solicited by the Archbishop's Secretary. In June 1549, he wrote from Canterbury to *Martyr*, then at Oxford.

‡ How far *Bucer's* animadversions were adopted may be discovered by comparing them with the first and second books of Edward. (*Buceri Scripta Anglicana*, and *Burnet*, part ii. pages 155, 6.) The annotations of *Martyr*, made from *Cheke's* incomplete Latin Version, are not indeed very considerable; but so far as they went, they accorded with the more copious animadversions of *Bucer*, for whose use, we are informed, the Latin translation by *Alesse*, a Scotsman, was primarily designed. (*Burnet*, *ibid.* *Strype*.) *Bucer's* censures were communicated to *Martyr*, who informed the Archbishop that his opinion agreed with *Bucer's*. *Martyr* at this time was at Lambeth, where, during the intervals

This public revision of the Liturgy, to the improvement of which the judicious remarks made by Bucer and Martyr had essentially contributed, was undertaken in 1551, that is, about two years after its first publication. The forms of the Liturgy were now generally followed, and the prejudices against it arising from former habits, had considerably abated. This was therefore judged by Cranmer to be a convenient season for the introduction of those various improvements, which he had already digested in private with his friends. Who were the commissioners appointed to review the book, we are not with certainty informed: but from the silence of contemporary writers it has been supposed that they were

intervals allowed him from the duties of his professorship at Oxford, he was engaged in framing, under the direction of the Archbishop, a system of ecclesiastical discipline for the Church of England. This work was completed, but never established. It was likewise about this time, that Cranmer communicated to Martyr, (whether the communication was made personally, as is most probable, or through Sir John Cheke, their common friend, is immaterial,) that "the bishops, at a conference about the communion office, had agreed that many things should be changed;" and added, "that if they would not do it, the King was resolved to do it by himself and his parliament without them." (Martyr's Letter to Bucer in Parker's MSS. Compare the communion offices of the two books.—See Strype's Cranmer, p. 210, and 252. Collier, vol. II. p. 296, with his *Reasons, &c.* for restoring the communion of the first book, Burnet, and most of the writers on ecclesiastical transactions about the year 1550.) The remarks of the stern Nonjuror Collier on Bucer's Animadversions are written, neither with that strict regard to historic truth, nor that candor and impartiality, which would have become the author of an *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, and the compiler of a *Communion Office*. Bucer was accessory to the removal of a few forms and usages, which were retained in the Communion Office of Edward's first Book. In defence of these, and with a view to get them re-established, Collier has written several controversial tracts.—Collier's Communion Office, both in the arrangement of its parts, and in the turn of particular sentences, is often either the prototype, or copy of that used in the present Episcopalian Church of Scotland. These two agree in various particulars, in which both differ materially from Edward's offices, from Elizabeth's, from the Scottish of 1636, and from our present form.

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the same by whom it was originally compiled. *The Articles of Religion**, first drawn up in this year, it is commonly agreed, were framed principally by Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer: and it is most probable that the corrections and additions in the Second Book of Common Prayer, were chiefly made by them. The *New Service*, for that was the name now given to this improved Book of Common Prayer, was authorised by Parliament in the beginning of April, 1552, and appointed to be every where used from the feast of *All Saints* following. On that day, *Ridley*, who upon *Bonner's* removal, had, in April 1550, been promoted to the see of London, celebrated divine service according to the new regulations, in the cathedral church of St. Paul; and in the forenoon preached a sermon in the choir. The *New Service* was likewise performed on this day in most of the churches in London and Westminster. In the afternoon, *Ridley* delivered from St. Paul's Cross †, before the Lord Mayor,

* These were nearly the same with our present *Articles*.

† This appears to have originally been a common cross, erected near the old cathedral church. In 1449 it was rebuilt, but long before this era it had been converted into a *pulpit-cross*. The pulpit was made of wood, and the ascent was by steps of stone. Around the cross were covered galleries, for the reception of the King, Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Nobility, and other persons of distinction; but by far the greatest part of the audience stood exposed to the open air. To this place, in the reigns of Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, the court and the city flocked to hear sermons. The preacher, who frequently came from either Oxford or Cambridge, was supplied by the Court of Aldermen, with a comfortable lodging, and other necessities, for five days. Voluntary contributions were likewise made by the nobility and citizens, to defray the expences of his journey, and for his further support. From St. Paul's Cross, the divines in Henry's reign declaimed against the authority of the Pope; in Edward's, supported the reformation; in Mary's, defended the *old* doctrines, and modes of worship; and, in Elizabeth's, preached against the papal supremacy, and vindicated the principles upon which the reformation had proceeded. This pulpit was employed for other purposes beside that of religious instruction; for at St. Paul's Cross, laws were promulgated, or to speak more correctly, the

Mayor, Aldermen, Citizens, and a numerous audience, a very long * and interesting discourse, in which he stated, explained and vindicated, the alterations that had been made in the Liturgy.

The improvements made at the review consisted of Additions and Alterations. The most considerable Additions are the following. The Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, were now first appointed to be read in the beginning of Morning and Evening Prayer. The Lutheran churches of Germany already had their confession and absolution. The *Versicles* after the Lord's Prayer were put in the plural number, and *Alleluiah*, appointed in the former book to be said from Easter to Trinity Sunday, was omitted. Some hymns, after the lessons, some occasional prayers at the end of the Litany, and various rubrics were added. The Litany itself was now appointed to be used on Sunday, as well as on Wednesday and Friday. The people were observed to approach the Lord's Table without due solemnity and preparation: the Ten Commandments were therefore appointed to be read after the collect in the beginning of the communion service, and a short petition to follow each, as a means, till discipline could be restored, of preparing the congregation, to partake worthily of the holy sacrament. The

the royal pleasure was announced, papal bulls published, sinners anathematized, royal contracts of marriage notified, fallen favourites calumniated, benedictions given, oaths administered, and recantations read both by protestants and papists. Before this Cross the fascinating and unfortunate *Jane Shore* did penance for her only crime, and begged that mercy man denied her here. Of the appropriation of St. Paul's Cross to some of these purposes, we read in the annals of 1259, and we are told that the last sermon delivered from it, was preached before James I. on *Mid-lent* Sunday, in 1620. In 1643, the Cross was demolished by order of the Parliament. The order was executed by *Pennington*, then Lord Mayor, and afterward a convicted regicide.

* The afternoon sermon probably began soon after one: and from the circumstance's being particularly recorded, I conclude it was remarkable, that *on the first of November the Lord Mayor and Aldermen went home by torch-light.*

words *militant here on earth*, were annexed to the preface of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church; and a new *Exhortation* was composed, to be used when the people were negligent in coming to the holy Communion. A rubric concerning kneeling was subjoined to the communion. This rubric was expunged by Elizabeth, but with some slight variation was reinstated after the restoration. The offices of *Ordination* likewise, which had been drawn up in 1549, were, with some few mutations, annexed to the book.

The most material *Alterations* were the removal of a few ceremonies and usages retained in the first book, some of which appear to have been at least superfluous. Such in the office of Baptism were, the Sign of the Cross made on the Child's breast; the *Exorcism*, or the form of Adjuration, commanding the unclean and cursed Spirit to depart; the two last interrogatories, the repetition of immersion three times, first dipping the right side, then the left, then the face toward the font; the putting upon the Child his (or her) white vesture, commonly called the *Chrisom*, with the address to the Child on the occasion; and the anointing of the Child, with the prayer for the unction of the holy Spirit. Such likewise were the use of oil, with the sign of the cross, in confirmation, and extreme unction at the visitation of the sick. In the *churching of women*, the rubric concerning the *Chrisom* was omitted, and the former title, *purification of women*, was altered. Prayers for the dead, both in the communion and burial offices, were expunged.

The order of the Communion Office in general was materially altered; and the arrangement of some parts of it was transposed. In the title, the words commonly called the *mass* were expunged; and the conclusion of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, in which praise and thanks were given for the wonderful grace declared in the blessed Virgin, and all the saints, was partly omitted, and partly altered. In the Prayer of Consecration, the petition for the sanctification of the elements was probably thought capable of

of a construction favourable to the notion of the real presence; and on this account, the words, *Hear us, we beseech thee, O merciful Father; and with thy holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who, in the same night, &c.* were changed into, *Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread, and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood, who, in the same, &c.* The crossings made over the elements, at the repetition of the words *bless* and *sanctify*, were laid aside. The rubric, enjoining the *indicative* form of absolution to be used in private confessions, was left out, as was also that directing *a little pure, and clean water to be put to the wine* in the chalice*.

Between the two books there is another remarkable difference, which deserves particular notice. In the first book, the words spoken by the priest at the delivery of the bread, are, *The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.* In the second book the words are, *Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.* Again, when the cup is presented, the form in the first book is, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life:* but in the second, *Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.*

In very ancient Liturgies, there was a small portion of a psalm, or some other part of scripture, appropriate to the service of the day, prefixed to the collect, before the epistle

* The mixing of water with the wine is a very ancient, as well as a very general practice. But this being a human institution, our church, which in common with others, has "the power of decreeing rites and ceremonies" for itself, omitted it.—xx Art. of Religion.

and gospel. This being sung by the choir, at the time of the priest's entrance within the rails of the altar, was in some churches called the *Ingress*, (*Ingressus*) but more commonly, the *Introit* (*Introitus*)*. This part of the service, being perfectly unexceptionable, and when properly performed, highly affecting, was retained in the first book: why it was rejected in the second, it is not easy to assign either the true, or a good reason. The want however of the *Introit* may be considered, as in some degree supplied in parish churches by a portion of a metrical psalm †, sung

* In the Liturgy, ascribed to *Ambrose*, and used at *Milan*, it is called *Ingressus*: but in the *Salisbury*, *Gallican*, and *Roman* missals, *Introitus*. *Durantis* says, *Introitus dicitur, quod a choro canitur, sacerdote introeunte ad altare.* (de rit.)

Introitus missæ quem chorus ante canit. (Ibid.)

† At the time of this review, *Sternhold*, a groom of the privy chamber, had translated thirty-seven of the psalms into English metre, which he set to music, and sung to his organ. Edward, it is said, was delighted with the music, and this occasioned the publication of these psalms, which were dedicated to the King. The success of *Sternhold* encouraged *Hopkins*, who was likewise a gentleman of the privy chamber, and others, to attempt, as *Heylin* says, the *execution* of the rest in the same way. This metrical version, first allowed in private devotion, was gradually introduced into the church; having been probably admitted under the sanction of a clause of the first Act for Uniformity, which makes it *lawful for all men in churches, and chapels, openly to use any psalm, or prayer, taken out of the Bible, at any due time, not letting or omitting thereby the service, or any part thereof, mentioned in the said book of Common Prayer, &c.* This conjecture is supported by the title of these psalms, *set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches before and after morning and evening prayer, and also before and after sermons.* The general opinion however is, that they were admitted rather by connivance, than by legal authority. When in the next century the puritannical party gained strength and confidence, *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, were in most churches excluded, and these singing psalms introduced in their places. But some modern disciples of the old puritans have, in a great measure, rejected the two authorised metrical versions of the psalms, *both before and after prayers, and sermons*, in favour of compositions commonly inferior, and often of a very unhallowed cast,

before

before the communion, and in cathedrals by a psalm, or anthem.

By these, and a few other Additions and Alterations, all of which it would be too tedious to specify, our public offices were brought nearly to their present state. In subsequent reviews, as in the course of the narrative, we shall have occasion to observe, the Liturgy received some farther improvements. But they were not of sufficient moment to affect the leading features of the work. If we except some additional prayers, and occasional forms that have since been inserted, the difference between Edward's Second Book, and the present, consists principally in verbal, or rubrical variations, most of which were made for the sake of removing ambiguities.

When we consider the purity and excellence of this Liturgy, and its favourable reception, we are naturally led, to reflect upon the satisfaction and pleasure, with which its venerable authors must have contemplated the successful issue of their labours; and to indulge a secret wish that they had been permitted to enjoy upon earth a protracted sense of so sublime a gratification.—But scarce was this salutary work completed, when the premature death of Edward made way for the elevation of Mary to the throne, and the re-establishment of popery in this kingdom.

Though we must lament the fate of such men, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and execrate the memory of Mary for bringing to the stake, prelates, to whom the reformation is so essentially indebted, yet we have reason to rejoice, that her reign was not of sufficient duration to destroy the fruits of their pious industry, and to restore the superstition, and tyranny of the church of Rome, which were now so justly dreaded and abhorred.

At the accession of Elizabeth the hopes of the nation began to revive. This princess displayed consummate prudence in the means employed to re-establish the protestant doctrines and worship. The bishops and clergy, who had been exiled

in the former reign, were immediately recalled, but not restored; and all who had been imprisoned on account of religion were set at liberty, while the papists were neither persecuted, nor dispossessed of their ecclesiastical preferments, nor in any way discountenanced.

To repress the violence of some protestants, who thought the Queen proceeded too slowly, and who appeared disposed to take the business of a national reform into their own hands: and more particularly perhaps, to put a stop to the acrimonious invectives of the Romanists, against *Heresy*, *Schism*, and *Innovation*, with which their pulpits now resounded, all preaching without a licence was prohibited by a royal proclamation, and licences were granted only to a few of the leading and more moderate protestant divines. And they were likewise forbid to meddle with any point in controversy, or to touch upon any subject that might irritate men's passions. This order was so strictly executed, that no sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross, or in any other public place in London, except the Lent Sermons in the Queen's Chapel, and those at the *Spittal*, till the ensuing Easter*. By a second proclamation issued December 27, 1558, and published the next day in the City by the Lord Mayor, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Com-

* The Court preachers in Lent, whose names are known, were *Cox*, *Parker*, afterward Archbishop, *Scory*, *Whitehead*, *Grindal*, and *Sandys*: the *Spittal* preachers were, *Bill*, *Cox*, and *Horn*. From the appointment of these preachers, the Queen's disposition towards the reformation may easily be discerned. On Low-Sunday, *Sampson* preached at St. Paul's Cross the *Rehearsal* Sermon. But the key of the pulpit was missing, and after the door was broken down by a smith, it was discovered that the place, either by long *disuse*, or *misuse*, had contracted so much filth and nastiness, that, till it was cleansed, and made sweet, it was, in the language of *Heylin*, unfit for any other preacher. The reader that is acquainted with *Peter Heylin's* manner, will not require to be told, that *Sampson's* subsequent nonconformity provoked this sarcasm. Mishaps similar to what befel *Sampson* often attended both papists and protestants about this time, occasioned, no doubt, by their mutual animosities.

mandments; the Litany; and at High Mass, the Epistle and Gospel, were required to be read in English*; but no Exposition of them was permitted. All churches were commanded to follow the practice of the Chapel Royal, where the elevation of the Host was forbidden. These were the only changes that were for some time made in public worship. In every other respect, the Rubrics of the Breviaries, Missals, and Rituals of the late reign were ordained, till the matter should be further considered by the Queen and Parliament†.

But Elizabeth, or at least her protestant counsellors, the most eminent of whom were Cecil‡, Bacon§, and Smith||, were secretly deliberating, upon the means of effectually restoring the reformed religion; and of executing this enterprise, which from the circumstances of the times, was peculiarly arduous¶, in a way, least offensive to the opponents of the English protestant establishment, and at the same time, least dangerous to the Queen's government.

Some of the parties admitted to this private deliberation, drew up in the end of December, an instrument, in which are questions and answers to this effect,—When shall the alterations be attempted? In the next Parliament.—What danger may ensue? From Rome, France, Spain, Ireland,

* This was done in the London churches, on the next Sunday, New-year's Day.

† Camden, Heylin, Burnet, Collier, Strype.

‡ Sir William, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who had been in office in Edward's reign, and was the friend of Cranmer. He was now a strenuous advocate for the reformation; and to his superior abilities, and influence with the Queen, we must attribute its being so speedily and happily effected. He speaks of himself as *cominus dimicans* in establishing it. (Strype, An. p. 32.)

§ Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper.

|| Sir Thomas, who had been Secretary of State to Edward, and was greatly respected by Cranmer.

¶ The Papists were powerful, and the Lutherans, (see note first, p. liii.) as well as the Calvinists, were numerous.

Scotland, and many here at home.—What remedy? An answer is given as to Rome, France, &c.—What the manner of proceeding? Certain learned men, Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Pilkington, with Sir Thomas Smith, shall draw up a book, or form, which shall be presented to the Queen, and with her approbation laid before Parliament.—What order to be used in the realm in the *interim*? To make no farther alteration than the Queen has already done in the proclamation of December 27.—To these proceedings four noblemen were to be made privy, before they were opened to the whole council. The last article relates to the provision of food, and other necessaries for the reviewers, and appoints the place of meeting to be at Smith's lodging in Chanon-row.—Upon this plan the protestant members of the council evidently proceeded. The design is said to have been formed by *Smith*, and he certainly was principally concerned in the execution of it. The instrument appoints *Smith* to call these learned men together, and to be among them: and after consultation with them to draw in other apt men of learning and credit, to have their assents*.

At the same time *Guest* was privately employed by *Cecil* in revising Edward's Book of Common Prayer. The grand object of *Cecil* was to make the offices in general, and that of the *Communion* in particular, acceptable to the Roman Catholics, and yet not to sacrifice any one principle of the reformation. Of *Guest* little else is known, than that he was Dean of Canterbury, and successively Bishop of Rochester and Salisbury. He appears however to have been equally learned and judicious. To him *Cecil* submitted the following queries;—Whether it might not be proper to review the first, rather than the second Book of Edward, or at least to re-establish some ceremonies and forms, which appear in the former, but not in the latter. He enquires, whether the

* See *Camden, Burnet*, Vol. II. Collection of Records, p. 327. *Strype's Annals*, Vol. I. p. 52. and Append. No. IV.

image of the Cross may not be innocently retained in churches: processions lawfully used; and a cope besides the surplice, worn by the clergy at the celebration of the Communion: whether prayers for the dead, and a form of invoking the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements may not be continued, together with the delivery of the Eucharist into the mouth of the Communicant*? To these questions satisfactory answers were returned by Guest†, and the ceremonies proposed by Cecil were omitted in the Book prepared by the Commissioners to be laid before Parliament.

The Commissioners were *Parker*, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, whose place was supplied by *Guest*, when *Parker* was indisposed, *Cox* and *May*, who are said to have been two of the compilers of Edward's first Book, and lived in exile during Mary's reign, *Grindal*, successively Bishop of London, York, and Canterbury, *Bill*, the Queen's Almoner, *Pilkington*, and *Whitehead* together with Sir *Thomas Smith*.

This Committee entered upon the business of the Review in December 1558, and finished it in April following; in which month a Bill for "Uniformity in the Service of the Church," authorising Edward's Book of Common Prayer, with a few alterations and additions, was introduced into the lower house of parliament. To facilitate the passing of this

* In some of these queries, Cecil evidently had an eye to the *Augustan*, or *Ausburgh Confession*, which at this time many wished to see adopted by the church of England. It permitted crucifixes to be retained, and the wafer to be put into the mouth of the communicant, and acknowledged a real and substantial presence in the Eucharist. On this subject *Bullenger* writes to his friend; Video et in *Anglia* non modicas oborturas turbas, si, quod quidam (rem indignissimam multis modis,) postulant, recipiatur *Augustana Confessio*. Vexat hoc omnes ecclesias sinceriores—Cave, & adjuta ne recipiatur. Satisfecit piis *Edwardi* reformatio.

† Collier does not admit this: but see note, p. XLIII. Strype has inserted *Guest's* Reply, No. 14. Append. Annals, Vol. I.

bill into a law, a public conference, or disputation, had been appointed to be previously held, in Westminster Abbey, between eight, nine, or ten bishops, or dignified clergymen on the part of the papists, and an equal number of protestant divines. The questions to be argued were these three.

1. Whether it is against the word of God, and the custom of the ancient church, to use a tongue unknown to the people in common prayer, and the administration of the sacraments?

2. Whether every church has authority to appoint, abolish, and change ceremonies and ecclesiastical rites, provided the same be done to edification?

3. Whether it can be proved by the word of God, that in the mass there is offered up a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead?

The papists were to defend the negative of the first, and the affirmative of the last proposition; and the protestants the affirmative of the second. That the audience might be better enabled to judge of the force of the arguments on each side, it was resolved that the disputation should be held in English, and to avoid the confusion commonly attending verbal debate, both parties agreed to conduct the conference by writing. The bishops were in the first place to read their paper on the first question, and then the reformed theirs; after which the papers were to be mutually exchanged that they might be reciprocally answered the next day. The same method was to be observed in the discussion of the other questions. Preliminaries being thus settled, *Bacon* the Lord Keeper, who presided as moderator, not however to determine any thing on any point in controversy, but simply to see that the dispute was conducted in order, and according to the forms agreed upon, took the chair on the 30th of March, in the presence of the Lords of the Council, the Members of both Houses of Parliament, and a numerous concourse of other auditors. The Bishops produced no documents in writing, pretending that they had mistaken the order;

order: they said however that they were prepared to argue the first proposition. The truth is, they had determined to give up no papers to the *Heretics*. The President reproved their departure from the agreement, but permitted them to proceed, upon the promise that they would put their arguments in writing, and deliver them to the other party. *Cole*, Dean of St. Paul's, then delivered a long discourse, in which he endeavoured to justify the performance of divine service in the Latin language. After he had finished, the Bishops were asked whether they had any thing more to advance on the first question, and having answered in the negative, the Moderator required the Protestants to read their paper. It was accordingly read, and delivered, having been previously subscribed, to the Lord Keeper, to be by him presented to the Papists, that they might write their reply.

Of the contents of this paper it may be expected that I should give a summary account. It began with a short prayer for illumination, or right judgment, and a solemn asseveration that the protestant divines were resolved to be guided by the written word of God. In the Exordium they profess great regard for the catholic church, and entire acquiescence in the Articles of the three Creeds. To the Scriptures and the catholic church, they refer the whole controversy. But by *catholic* church they declare they do not understand the church of *Rome*, and they adopt from the Latin fathers a definition of the church, not unlike that given in our xxth Article of Religion. By scripture they mean *canonical* scripture, and by the custom of the primitive church, they understand its general practice for the first five centuries. They proceed to state the question, and affirm, that common prayer in an unknown tongue, is contrary, 1. to the word of God; and 2. to the custom of the primitive church.

The first proposition they very successfully support, and chiefly from passages in the fourteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians; and they illustrate their reasoning with arguments drawn from the principles of natural reason,

as well as from the practice of the Jewish church, and the Pagan world.

The second proposition is proved from *Justin Martyr's* Apology, from ancient Liturgies, and from the works of *Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Cyprian, Jerom, and Austin*. To these they subjoin the edict of *Justinian*, which commands the office of Baptism, and the prayers in the Eucharist, to be pronounced with a loud voice, that the people may hear, and be assisted in their devotions; which benefit, the Emperor observes, the people cannot have, unless they understand what is said. The protestant divines then revert to St. Paul's reasoning, and conclude their discourse with expressing their wonder that such an abuse, as public worship in a language not understood, should have ever crept into the church, and their astonishment that those, who would wish to be thought guides, and pastors, were so unwilling to return to the rule of St. Paul, and the practice of the primitive times*.

During the reading of the paper, the audience discovered visible marks of satisfaction, and as soon as it was finished, many of them expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. This prompted the Bishops to allege to the Moderator, in direct contradiction to their former answer, that they had more to say on the first question. To remove every pretence for complaint, the conference was adjourned. At the next meeting the Bishops refused to adhere to their own proposals, and went so far as to say, that what *Cole* had delivered was not agreed to by them. They railed against *Bacon*, and the *Council*, for permitting *Heretics* to discourse on points of faith before the unlearned multitude. In short, after much acrimonious invective on the part of the Romanists, for which two out of the nine were committed to the Tower, and others bound to appear before the Council, the conference was dissolved.

* The protestant disputants were *Scory*, late Bishop of Chichester, *Cox*, late Dean of Westminster, *Horn*, late Dean of Durham, *Aylmer*, *Whitehead*, *Guest*, *Jewell*, and *Grindal*.

The prevarication and petulance of the Bishops were at least as injurious to their cause, as any arguments brought by their adversaries. Their refusal at the outset to comply with the terms on which it was mutually stipulated that the disputation should be conducted, their subsequent deviation from the appointment proposed by themselves, and at last their declining to proceed further in the debate, betrayed to the more judicious part of the auditory, a consciousness of the weakness of their side of the question, and of their inability to defend it: whilst the insults offered to the Lord Keeper, who presided with impartiality, and extraordinary moderation toward them, and the threatenings of excommunication denounced against their Sovereign, and her Council, which were in no way connected with the subject of the conference, shewed, even to the populace, the intolerant spirit of themselves, and of their religious system. What completed the defeat of the Bishops, was, their attempt to silence argument by authority, and their final appeal to the Pope.

The triumph thus gained by the Protestants, secured and accelerated the passing of the *Bill for Uniformity*. It was read in the House of Commons on the 18th of April: on the 19th it was read the second time, and ordered to be engrossed: on the 20th the third time, and passed. On the 25th it was brought into the House of Lords, where it was read on the 26th, 27th, and 28th *. On the 29th the royal assent was given †.

* In the Upper House it met with all the opposition, that the bench of Bishops, and a few of the Lay Lords, could make against it. At this time some of Mary's Bishops were dead, and others were not appointed to the vacant sees. Out of the sixteen now living, ten were present, and dissented; the other six gave their vote against the Bill by proxy. This accounts for the words *Assent of the Lords*, without the usual addition of *Spiritual and Temporal*, in the Act of Uniformity, where *the Lords Spiritual* are not mentioned. Strype, Blackstone, book 1, ch. 2.

† Of what was done by the *Convocation* I take no notice, and for this reason: the protestant clergy, being at this time *deposed*, could not be present.

It

It is likewise remarkable, that in the progress of this Bill only one amendment was made. The divines who drew it up had left the people at liberty to receive the Communion either standing or kneeling. The more ancient, as well as more common usage, was to communicate standing; but the posture of kneeling, which had been usual in England, was enjoined by Parliament.

The Act required that the English Service should take place on the 24th of June, the day of St. John the *Baptist*: but by the advice of her Majesty's Protestant Counsellors, it was performed in the Royal Chapel on the 12th of May, the very first Sunday after the dissolution of the Parliament, and above forty days before the feast of the *Baptist*. The Council, no doubt, anticipated the refusal of the Bishops*, and the backwardness of some of the clergy to officiate by the legal form: and therefore to give an example to the rest of the nation, ordered the English Liturgy to be uniformly used in the Queen's Chapel for some weeks before it was enjoined by the Act to be universally adopted.

Of the alterations made at this Review, the following are the most considerable. The Ordinary may appoint the place where the Morning and Evening Prayer shall be read: hitherto it had commonly been read in the Chancel. To put a stop to disputes that had arisen about the form and situation of the Altar, or Communion Table, Chancels are ordered *to remain as they have done in times past* †. Some ornaments of

* All the Bishops afterward refused to take the Oath of Supremacy required by law, and were of course deprived, one only excepted, and to mention his name were to disgrace it. This man conformed in Edward's reign, was a persecutor of protestants while Mary lived, and continued to hold his bishoprick under Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity. 12 Deans, 12 Archdeacons, 15 Masters of Colleges, 50 Prebendaries, and about 80 Rectors and Vicars were likewise deprived. The whole number, including the 15 Bishops, did not amount to 200.

† In Edward's first Book, the Priest, at the Communion, was directed to stand *before the midst of the ALTAR*; that is, with his face toward

of the Church, and habits worn by the Ministers, which had been removed by Edward's second Book, were replaced. Proper *first* lessons were appointed for Sundays*; for, till this Review, those for the day of the month in the Kalendar had been used on Sunday, as well as on ordinary days. To conciliate the Romanists, the deprecation in the Litany *to be delivered from the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities* was cancelled. In this office the intercessions for the Queen were likewise added. Towards the end of the Litany were inserted *A Prayer for the Queen's Majesty*, and another *for the Clergy and People*, but without any title annexed to either: together with that beginning *O God, whose Nature and Property is ever to have Mercy, and to forgive*. This last had been retained in various Primers, but had no place in either of Edward's Books†. In Elizabeth's it is, without

toward the east, and his back to the people: but in the second Book at the *north side of the* TABLE. From the very establishment of the reformation, from the days of *Ridley* to the death of *Laud*, and the Subversion of the Church, unhappy altercations existed respecting the site and form of the Communion Table. After the restoration, no positive injunctions concerning these matters, were enforced by authority, and all disputes about them, soon died away. This moderation produced that general uniformity, which compulsive methods were in vain employed to enforce. *Chancels* are now commonly *railed in*, and the table is placed *Altarwise*; that is, near the wall at the eastern extremity of the building.

* This regulation, though highly proper in its principle, thwarts the intention of the first reformers, and in some degree contradicts a position in *their* preface, respecting the Kalendar. When the appointment of proper lessons for Sundays took place, strict consistency required, that the clause, concerning the *uninterrupted* reading of the Old Testament, should have been a little more modified.

† A strange fatality has attended this valuable Collect. That since 1662 it has been commonly displaced, and is at present seldom read, I have remarked in the Elucidation. Neither are our writers agreed on the time of its introduction into the Common Prayer. Nicholls has inadvertently said that "it was brought in in the first (year, or Book) of James." Bisse notes the mistake, and falls into one less natural. He affirms that it was in Edward's *Second Book*, and even pretends to assign

without any title, or rubric, subjoined to the prayer “in time of common plague, or sickness.” It is of course the last prayer in the Litany, and allowing for the blank, or chasm, which properly disjoins offices, then separate and distinct, and used at different times, it immediately precedes the collects, epistles and gospels, read in the communion office: for neither the prayer for *parliament*, nor that for *all sorts and conditions of men*, nor any of the *thanksgivings*, were yet composed.

The rubric at the end of the Communion, in the second Book of Edward, which expressly denied the corporal presence*, was omitted, for the same reason that the deprecation in the Litany was expunged. Some other unimportant variations were made. At the delivery of the elements in the Eucharist, the two different forms, appointed in the first and second Books of Edward, were united, as they still remain. And in order to deviate still less from the forms of

assign the place where it stood. What would be more extraordinary were it true, we are told that it was agreed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of 1689 that this prayer “should be thrown out, as full of strange and impertinent expressions, and besides not in the original, but foisted in by another hand.” *Birch*, in his *Life of Tillotson*, repeats this upon the authority of *Calamy*. The original papers of the Commissioners were deposited, it is said, in the Archives at Lambeth, and *Calamy* had not access to them. Again *Calamy*’s account contradicts that given by others, whose means of information were at least equal to his.—Very little indeed is publicly known of the proceedings of the Commissioners; and to me it appears very improbable that *Burnet*, *Patrick*, *Stillingfleet*, and *Tillotson* should have assented to the resolution quoted above.

* We do declare that it is not meant thereby (by kneeling at the time of receiving the Sacrament) that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread or wine, there bodily received, or unto any real or essential presence there being of Christ’s natural flesh and blood: for as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and may not be adored, for that were idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians; and as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in Heaven, and not here, &c. Edward’s second Book.

the

the church of Rome, the Queen's Injunctions ordered, that the sacramental bread, which the Rubric required only to be made of the finest wheaten flour, should be made round like the wafers lately used in private masses *.

This comprehensive plan, added to the Queen's manifest attachment to usages †, that had obtained under the *ancient establishment*, induced many of the Roman Catholics to continue to join in the communion of the established church. Even the Pope was ready to give his sanction to the Liturgy, and to assent to the use of the communion in both kinds, provided the Queen would acknowledge his supremacy ‡; and it was not till after a conformity of more than ten years, that the Roman Catholics withdrew to separate congregations §.

The Reformation appeared now, not only to have completely triumphed over Popery, but uniformity of worship likewise seemed to be *generally* established in this kingdom. But the Puritans, who, during the life of Elizabeth, had, in a great degree, been awed into acquiescence, were, by the accession of James, encouraged to avow their principles more

* Queen's Injunctions, in Sparrow's Collect. p. 85.

† She had been prevailed upon to enjoin that *Images, Lights, and Crucifixes* should be removed from places of divine worship, in order to prevent the gross superstition, and idolatry which the abuse of them had occasioned: *she retained nevertheless, in her own chapel, a crucifix and lighted tapers in divine service.* (Strype's Parker, p. 46.) By the repeated addresses of Parker, and others, the Queen is said to have been brought off from the fancy of images: and she certainly shewed herself, (that is, perhaps, affected to be) *highly disgusted* at the sight of some ornamental pictures, placed before the epistles and gospels in a Book of Common Prayer, laid before her at St. Paul's, by order of *Nowel* the Dean, and intended by him for a New-Year's gift to her Majesty. (Id. ibid. p. 97.) On her attachment to *Altars*, see Strype's Annals, Vol. I. p. 162; to Images, p. 172, 3, with Burnet, &c.

‡ This is asserted by Heylin on the authority of Camden, who, he observes, had all his choice intelligence from Cecil. Reform, p. 303, 4. But the *Queen* and the *Pope* both knew that the *Legitimacy* of the one could not be maintained, if the *Supremacy* of the other were admitted.

§ Heylin, Strype, Burnet, Collier.

openly *. To this monarch they presented an address, which is usually distinguished by the name of the *millenary* petition. The title is meant to import that it was subscribed by a *thousand* ministers, though in reality it was not signed by more than three-fourths of that number.

In this petition they complain of the service, government, and discipline of the church of England, and pray for a reform of what they call abuses. From what James had himself seen in their Scottish brethren, he knew the puritanical clergy too well to be deluded by their specious pretences: and whatever hopes his former professions of attachment to the church of Scotland might have excited, he was too prudent a monarch to attempt any innovation of the established constitution of the church, of which he was now SUPREME HEAD, without a cogent reason for the change †. Willing however to gratify the Puritans, as far as a proposal to hear what they had to allege in favour of their non-conformity could gratify them, he gave orders for a conference to be held at Hampton Court, between some select bishops of the establishment, and the leading characters among the dissenters. James, attended by the *Lord Chancellor, Attorney-General*, and others, presided in person, as *moderator*, or rather, if we impartially examine his conduct and decisions, as *magisterial*

* Many of the clergy, who had spent their time of exile in countries which conformed to the ecclesiastical establishment of Geneva, returned to England, disaffected to the episcopal government; and were dissatisfied with the rites and ceremonies afterward established by law. From their pretending to greater *purity*, in the service of God, than was held forth (as they alleged) in the Book of Common Prayer; and from their carrying their opposition to the rites and usages of the Romish church, further than was consistent with the Constitution, or agreeable to the moderation of the church of England, they were first called *Puritans*, in the year 1564.

† In the course of the debate at Hampton Court, James remarked that, *if the Bishops were out, and the Puritans in, he knew what would become of his Supremacy*. *No Bishops, no King*, was a favourite apothegm with him at this conference. In Scotland he had stiled the *English Liturgy*, an *ill-said mass*, a *popish service without the crossings*.

dictator.

dictator. On this occasion, fulsome compliments were made to James by some of the Lords and Bishops. One of them said that his Majesty spoke by the *instinct of the Holy Ghost*. And several of our writers dwell with apparent pleasure on the uncommon learning and abilities, with which the King condescended to plead the cause of the establishment. But, in these commendations, there seems to be, at least, as much flattery as truth. Towards the close of the conference, which lasted three days, the monarch told the Puritans, that “he would have none of their *arguing* *, and that if they did not conform, and quickly too, they should *hear* of it †.”

Though the Puritans gained nothing for themselves by this conference, yet their complaints occasioned the order for the present translation of the Bible; and their pointing out some imperfections in the Liturgy, gave rise to several alterations. In the Rubric before the Absolution, the words, “or remission of sins,” were added, “by way of explanation ‡.” In the Morning and Evening Prayer a collect, and in the Litany a particular intercession, were appointed for the Royal Family. At the end of the Litany were added forms of thanksgiving on various occasions §: for rain, and for

* Yet the parties met for the purpose of *arguing* the points in dispute, before the royal Moderator.

† At the end of the second day's conference, James, arising from his chair, observed to the courtiers, *If this be all they have to say, I'll make them conform, or I'll Harry them out of the land, or I'll do worse.*

‡ It is curious and singular that these words, “or remission,” now added at the suggestion of the non-conformist *by way of explanation*, the more learned commissioners of 1689 should have agreed to *put out*, as not very intelligible. Birch's Tillotson.

§ “The want of particular thanksgivings for the benefits for which there are prayers,” was objected by *Cartwright*, and others, in the reign of Elizabeth. *Hooker* attempts to defend the omission, and accuses his adversaries of “waving in and out.” He represents them, “as not resolved what to think, speak, or write, more than only that, since they have taken it upon them, they must be opposite.” (Eccl. Pol. book v. ch. 43.) *Hooker* appears here to argue from the principle, that what-
ever

for fair weather ; for plenty, and for peace, and deliverance from our enemies ; for restoring public peace at home ; and for deliverance from the plague, or other common sickness.

In the office for private baptism, the Rubric, which might have been supposed to countenance Lay-baptism, was corrected, and the administration confined to the lawful minister. The title of the office of confirmation was enlarged, and rendered more explicit. At the end of the catechism were subjoined all the questions and answers concerning the sacraments. Some other improvements were likewise made. It has been disputed, but at this day it will hardly admit of a question, whether these regulations were made by competent authority. They were agreed upon, only by the king and some of the bishops, but were not either in this, or the succeeding reign, ratified by parliament.

At the accession of Charles I., no particular attempt was made to improve the Liturgy. New editions were printed from the amended copy of the preceding reign, with the alteration of the names of the King and Royal Family. In the Rubrics, the word *priest* was occasionally put for *minister*. And, in the course of this reign, the introductory words of the prayer for the Royal Family, “ which hast promised to be a father of thine elect, and of their seed,” were changed into their present form. Some other alterations, either verbal, or unimportant, were made by the special order of the King.

In this reign, however, a reformed Liturgy was published for the use of Scotland, which the court fondly hoped would be brought back not only to Episcopacy, but to a near con-

ever is established, is right, and must be defended in whatever way it can. *L'Estrange*, who wrote after the occasional thanksgivings were inserted, does not think *Hooker's* defence quite satisfactory. He says, that “ the superadding of the thanksgivings was not only commendable, but a necessary act.” (Alliance, last Observation on ch. IV.) Subsequent ritualists agree with *L'Estrange* ; and since the introduction of the forms of thanksgiving, I do not know that the opinion of *Hooker*, on this point, has had a single advocate.

formity,

formity, both in worship and discipline, to the model of the English establishment.

Though the form of the Scottish Liturgy was drawn up by episcopalian divines in that kingdom, the work must be regarded, in a considerable degree at least, as the production of Archbishop Laud*. The preface explains the propriety, and maintains the necessity of a "prescript form of Common Prayer." It thus apologises for having "followed the service book of England. Being of one true profession, and united by many bonds, we thought meet to adhere to their form, even in the festivals, and some other rites, not as yet received, nor observed in our church, rather than by omitting them, to give the adversary to think, that we disliked any part of their service. Our first reformers," continues the preface, "were of the same mind with us, as appears by the ordinance they made, that in all the parishes of the realm, the Common Prayer" (meaning that of the church of England) "should be read weekly on Sundays, and other festival days; for it is known for diverse years after, we had no other order for Common Prayer."

In this Scottish Liturgy are many improvements, some of which, as I have had occasion to observe in the following Elucidation, were adopted in the last review of our book that was authorised by parliament.—The following are a few of the most remarkable variations between the Scottish and English Liturgies, as the latter stood prior to the restoration. The enumeration of these will likewise point out some particulars, wherein the Scottish differs from our present book.

The Scottish Liturgy, particularly in the Rubrics, often changes priest into presbyter. The Epistles, Gospels, Hymns, and Psalms, are taken from the new translation of the Bible. No apocryphal Lesson is found in the Kalendar, though a very few are admitted among the proper lessons

* See Heylin's Life of Laud.

for Holidays *. In the Communion Service the people are directed to say, "Glory be to God †," after the minister has given out, and before he proceeds to read the Gospel: and when the Gospel is ended they are to answer, "Thanks be to thee, O Lord." Some additional sentences occur in the offertory, "one or more of which shall be said as the presbyter or curate thinketh most convenient, according to the length, or shortness of the time, that the people are offering," and some of the sentences in our book are omitted. The same observation extends to the sentences prefixed to the daily prayer. The conclusion of the prayer for the church militant on earth, differs remarkably from Edward's first book, from the second, and from our present book, as they respectively do from each other. At the administration of the bread and wine, the first part only of the words is used, as in Edward's former book.

We come now to a memorable period in the history of our Liturgy, when the descendants and disciples of the Puritans, who had been so clamorous for a reform of ceremonies, and what they termed abuses, in the beginning of James's reign, were but too successful in their schemes of innovation. It

* In the former edition I said, that a *paraphrase of the psalms in metre, by King James VI.* is annexed to the book, and announced in the title page. When this passage was written, I had before me an Edinburgh edition of 1712, purporting to be printed from the authentic copy of 1637. But to that copy, which I have since examined, this uncouth paraphrase is not subjoined, neither is it noticed in the title page. The spurious edition I took for a genuine copy; and he must have been a *sceptic* indeed, who would have doubted its authenticity. I now relate the circumstance, thinking that it may serve as one apology for an occasional error, where writers are obliged to trust to copies, or copiers, from want of the means of examining originals.

† It is still customary in some of our churches for the parish clerk, and the people to say, "Glory be to thee, O Lord," when the clergyman has named the Gospel. In Edward's first Liturgy this was enjoined by a rubric: and *why* the order came to be afterwards omitted, it is now, I apprehend, useless to enquire.

is generally known that, by their artful machinations, they contrived to inflame the nation into rebellion, to overturn the government both in church and state, and to erect upon its ruins a *Babel* of their own. Their triumph, however, like that of their infatuated brethren, the builders of *confusion* on the plain of *Shinar*, was happily not of long duration. So little reason had the nation at large to be satisfied with that novel form of government, to which it was subjected by the regicides, that upon the decease of the Protector, the presbyterians themselves were willing to accede to the re-establishment of the ancient monarchy.

When the restoration of Charles II. began to be concerted he published at *Breda* a declaration concerning liberty of conscience in matters of religion. This was done with a view to soften the animosities that existed between the contending parties, and more especially to conciliate the presbyterians. The committee of nobles and commons appointed afterwards to wait upon the king at the *Hague*, was accompanied by eight or ten of the most eminent divines of the presbyterian communion. In a private conference with Charles, "they declared themselves no enemies to a moderate episcopacy." The king in return "assured them, that he had no intention to impose hard conditions, or embarrass their consciences: that he would refer the settling of the matters they mentioned to the two Houses of Parliament, who were the best judges of what indulgence or toleration was necessary for the repose of the kingdom."

At a subsequent private audience they represented to Charles, that "as the Common Prayer had been discontinued in England for several years, it might be impolitic for his majesty to revive the use of it in his own chapel immediately on his return. The people, they pretended, would be less shocked if some part of it only were used with other prayers." The king, with some degree of resentment, observed, that by the liberty he granted *them*, they were not authorised to infringe upon *his*. He hoped, he said, to find

the Liturgy regularly received in many places, and that in his own chapel he would suffer no other form of worship." The ministers, though disappointed by the king's firmness, proceeded to importune, "that his majesty's chaplains might discontinue the surplice, because the sight of the habit would give offence to the people." The king said, "the surplice had always been reckoned a decent habit; that though for the present he might be obliged to connive at disorder, he would never abet irregularity by his own practice, nor discountenance the ancient and laudable customs of the church, in which he had been educated *."

At the return of the king, the church revived with the monarchy: but its revival was not effected without some struggle and opposition. For more than fourteen years had the hierarchy been broken down, and the Liturgy laid aside. A very different form of ecclesiastical government, and of public worship, now prevailed. Various other circumstances concurred to form a prospect extremely favourable to the presbyterians. The nine bishops, however, that survived the usurpation, were speedily reinstated, six others were soon after consecrated, and in a short time all the sees were filled.

On the 25th of October, 1660, came forth the king's *Declaration* respecting ecclesiastical affairs, in which a promise was made, that the Liturgy should be reviewed by an equal number of divines of both persuasions. And on the 25th of March following, 42 commissioners, that is, 21 episcopalians, and 21 presbyterians, including the assistants on both sides, were constituted by letters patent. The commissioners were enjoined "to meet at the Master's lodging in the Savoy, and to take into consideration the several directions, rules, forms of prayer, and things in the Common Prayer contained, to review the same, comparing them with the most ancient Liturgies; to advise upon the exceptions and objections that might be made, and if occasion should require, to make such reasonable corrections and amendments as

* Clarendon, and Collier.

they might judge useful and expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences and restoring unity ; but avoiding all unnecessary abbreviations of the forms and Liturgy, so long received in the church of England."

At the first meeting of the commissioners, the Bishop of London acquainted the presbyterian divines, " that as they, and not the Bishops, had requested the conference for making alterations, nothing could be done, till they had delivered their exceptions in writing, together with the additional forms and alterations which they desired."

The dissenting ministers alleged, that verbal debate was not only more agreeable to the spirit of the commission, but was also the most likely means of answering the end of the conference. The bishops, however, being inflexible, the presbyterians were obliged to assent : and they agreed to propose in writing, all their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another.

Eighteen *general* exceptions were accordingly drawn up, some of which comprehend a great variety of distinct positions. These, together with an enumeration of *particular* exceptions against some rubrics and passages in the Book of Common Prayer, were presented to the episcopalian divines. To each of these exceptions the church commissioners returned what to the members of the establishment at least will appear in general a full and satisfactory *answer*. To this *answer* the nonconformists wrote a *reply* more spirited than respectful.

From the papers that passed between the commissioners we are, I think, authorised to infer, that the nonconformists, from the nature of the cause which they were engaged to defend, were unable to cope with their opponents, to whom they were likewise in point of knowledge of ancient Liturgies, and of the opinions of the early Christian writers, plainly inferior *. Yet in the course of the conference, they

* Some years prior to this controversy, MILTON observed that his friends, the puritans, were inferior to the prelates in learning.

displayed great acuteness of remark, and very considerable abilities and learning. We may further notice, that many of the requisitions of the presbyterians were either exorbitant or idle; but it must be allowed, that the episcopalians were far from being liberal in their concessions. Some concessions were however made, and other alterations now suggested by the presbyterians, and not agreed to by the church commissioners, took place at the review in the convocation.

How idle and frivolous were some of the propositions made by the presbyterians, the following specimen will evince. In their particular exceptions they request, that the words in the Litany, *ALL that travel by land or by water*, may be changed into, *THOSE that travel by land or by water*. The Episcopalians answer, that the former words are as little liable to exception as the latter, and that they are more agreeable to the phrase of Scripture. They quote the authority of St. Paul, *I will that prayers and supplications be made for ALL men*. To this the presbyterian Ministers reply, "We know not that we are bound to pray for thieves, pirates, and traitors, that travel by land or water on like errands with *Guy Faux*, the *Spanish Armada*, &c." Indeed the whole of *this reply*, makes a sort of quibbling distinction where it is not easy to discover any difference, and this is not the only instance where the puritans cavil about little or nothing, merely as it would appear for the sake of cavil.

Their disposition to find fault with trifles, and to dispute about things unimportant and indifferent, might incline the commissioners of the establishment to refuse concessions, which they would probably have been ready enough to make to more candid and liberal opponents. For though many of the exceptions of the nonconformists were either frivolous, or ill-grounded, some were reasonable and proper*.

To give an instance of this kind also from the Litany: They desired, that instead of praying to be delivered *from*

* At least I think some were, and I have read, *Incorruptam fidem professis, nec amore quisquam, & sine odio dicendus est.*

sudden death, the terms might be *from dying suddenly, and unprepared*. The Episcopalians answer, *from sudden death is as good*, which, I acknowledge, I cannot see. Their reason is, *we pray against sudden death that we may not be unprepared*. The reason is, to me, not much more satisfactory than the proposition; and I would ask, Do our congregations in general, do all our ministers, understand these words, as a prayer, *that they may not die unprepared?*

But to return to the commissioners; the Presbyterians reply, “we added *unprepared*, as expository, or to shew the reason why *sudden death* is prayed against, and so to direct our prayers to *that sudden death* for which we are *unprepared*, there being *some ways of sudden death*, no more to be prayed against than death itself, simply considered.” They proceed to give instances where “a man may be *well prepared to die suddenly*, as in the case of *martyrdom, &c.*”

Whether objections have been more frequently made to any one single passage in our Liturgy, than to this, I know not: but I am certain, that in discoursing with my parishioners, I have oftener been consulted on the import and propriety of this passage, (for the import of the words is generally mistaken,) than of any other in the whole Book of Common Prayer. Is not this a proof that exposition or alteration would have been proper? *From sudden and unprovided death deliver us, Lord*, was the language of the Primer. This corresponded in English, with the Latin *a morte subitanea & improvisa* in the office of Sarum, of which words *sudden death* is somewhat less than a translation.

Exclusively of the *exceptions*, and the *reply*, the presbyterian commissioners, according to agreement, proposed *additions and new forms*. One of them in particular, the famous old *Richard Baxter**, drew up an entire new service, which

* *Baxter* often communicated with the church of England. Though by the canon he was excommunicated *ipso facto*, yet not being legally declared excommunicate, he could not *canonically* be repelled from the Sacrament. *Hoadley*, and *Sharpe*.

he called *the Reformation of the Liturgy*. For this task *Baxter* was but indifferently qualified. He had little acquaintance with the Liturgies of antiquity, and less respect for them. His form, which differs totally from our Liturgy, and indeed resembles no other, was presented to the Episcopalians, and by them rejected. That such a reformation must have been rejected with contempt, will be readily credited by all that have examined it. But it is not so easy to account for its being presented to the Bishops for their approbation, with the concurrence of the more moderate part of the nonconformists. *Baxter's* service is professedly drawn up in *scriptural phrase*: that is, thirty or forty, and sometimes three or four score detached sentences, or at least, scraps of sentences, of Holy Scripture are, without much regard to affinity or connection, jumbled together into one prayer.

At the request of the nonconformists, the last week or ten days was spent in verbal conference, in a committee composed of three commissioners of each persuasion. In the accounts transmitted to us of this conference, the advocates of the respective parties reciprocally accuse each of misemploying their time in personal altercation; and it appears indeed, that very little was done towards effecting the purpose for which they had been appointed. At the close of the last day's meeting, it was resolved, that a written report of the conference should be delivered to the King: and that this general account should be given by the commissioners of both persuasions. "The church's welfare, unity and peace, and his Majesty's satisfaction, were *ends* upon which they all agreed, but as to the *means* they could not come to any harmony*."

On the 8th of May, 1661, the convocation met. They adopted most of the alterations to which the episcopalian

* This account of the *Savoy conference* is principally extracted from *Due account, and humble petition of the ministers; Account of proceedings of commissioners of both persuasions; Petition for peace, with reformation of Liturgy*, (All printed at London, 1661) and from *Collier*.

commissioners had agreed, made some farther concessions to the presbyterians, and introduced a few other changes and additions. On the 20th of September, the Book, having passed both houses of Convocation, was subscribed by the Bishops and Clergy; and together with the *Act of Uniformity* prefixed, and *the Preface*, beginning, *It hath been the wisdom*, (which latter was written after the review) received the civil sanction of the parliament. The royal assent was given, May 19, 1662.

Of the Alterations and Additions adopted by the Convocation, the following are the most considerable.

The order for reading the psalms was simplified and improved*. Some directions that appear to have been very proper, respecting a few of the lessons, were omitted†. In this

* How they were read before may be seen in the Elucidation, p. 125.

† Of this I shall give an instance, where I think the omission may be accounted for. On all Saints Days, the second morning lesson is Heb. xi. ver. 33. *Who through faith, &c.* The beginning is abrupt, and to whom the *who* here refers, few in our congregations will recollect. In all the old books, (vid. p. 187 of Elucidation) the reader was directed to begin thus, *Saints by faith*, for *by*, and not *through*, stands in the translation then used. At the time of the review of 1661, the achievements of the *republican Saints* were recent, and the word *Saints* an equivocal term. When to it was immediately annexed, *through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained promises*, even the devoutest hearer might be guilty of a momentary perversion of the meaning of the passage; for these very exploits were, as the Enthusiasts had affected to speak, performed *by themselves*, and *through faith*.—In modern books we commonly see ver. 32. But this Alteration is without authority. In the *sealed Books*, and the older editions, the reading is ver. 33. But in the office on the Martyrdom of Charles, the second Evening Lesson begins in all the books at ver. 32.

In the order how the rest of the holy Scriptures is appointed to be read, the concluding rubric was, *So oft as the first Chapter of St. Matthew is read either for Lesson, or Gospel, ye shall begin the same at* “The birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise, &c.” *And the third Chapter of St. Luke’s Gospel shall be read unto* “So that he was supposed to be the Son of Joseph.” But this rubric being now expunged, I apprehend that the genealogies were meant to be read, agreeably to the directions of

this part of the book several typographical mistakes were rectified, lessons were added for the 29th of February *, and other improvements made. Till this review, the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, had never been printed, though they were intended to be said, before the Lord's Prayer, in the beginning of the evening service. Many of the clergy omitted them, and began with the Lord's Prayer. Indeed the order was ambiguous. The rubrics were, "An order for evening prayer throughout the year. The priest shall say, Our Father, &c." At this review, the Absolution was directed to be read *standing*. Before this, some of the clergy read it *kneeling*, no particular direction about the attitude having been given. *Gloria Patri* was expressly ordered to be said after every division of the 119th psalm. This was probably the practice before: otherwise *Gloria Patri*, in the course of the psalms, would not have been repeated on the evening of the 24th, nor on the 25th nor 26th day of the month. The words *rebellion*, and *schism* †, were added in the last deprecation in the Litany:

of two other rubrics found in our former books, *Wheresoever the beginning of any Lesson, Epistle, or Gospel, is not expressed, there ye must begin at the beginning of the Chapter. And wheresoever is not expressed how far shall be read, there shall you read to the end of the Chapter.*

* At the time of this review, the rubric directed the ordinary lessons for the 23d day of February, to be read again on the day following in the Bissextile, or Leap Year; but in Edward's first book, *the 25th day is computed for two days, and shall alter neither psalm nor lesson.*

† The consequences of *rebellion* in the state, and *schism* in the church, had been severely felt by the reviewers of the Liturgy, and their contemporaries, yet the insertion of these two words gave great offence. The strongest argument however brought against the passage, affects not the *meaning*, but the *sound*. "The Addition of *Rebellion*, and *Schism*," it was said, "spoils the *cadence*."—Now I do not believe that the *ear* of any man living has discovered a want of melody in this part of the sentence; and even in the last century, as one of our forefathers has told us, "the words ran *smoothly enough*, in the *mouths* of all, whose *consciences* unfeignedly detested, and whose *hearts* were clear from these crimes."

in which office likewise, *Bishops, Pastors and Ministers*, were changed into *Bishops, Priests and Deacons*. The collects for the ember weeks, the prayer for the high court of parliament, and that for all sorts and conditions of men, together with the general thanksgiving, were all composed at this time. The occasional prayers and thanksgivings, which had hitherto formed a part of the Litany, were now disjoined from it. A collect was appointed for Easter Eve, on which day that for the preceding Sunday had hitherto been used; and a collect, epistle, and gospel for the 6th Sunday after the Epiphany, on which those for the 5th were before ordered to be repeated. A new collect was likewise composed for the 3d Sunday in Advent, and this is perhaps a proper place for observing, that considerable improvements were made in several other collects *. An appropriate epistle was allotted to the festival of the purification, on which the epistle for the Sunday preceding had formerly been used. Instead of calling by the name of *epistle*, a portion of the Old Testament, or Acts of the Apostles, read in the place of the epistle, it was ordered, that the Minister should say "The portion of scripture appointed for the epistle." The epistles and gospels in the communion office, as well as the lessons in the daily prayer, were taken from the new translation. The two exhortations, that follow the Oblation prayer, were altered, and ordered to be read on the Sunday, or Holiday, preceding the day of the celebration of the communion, and not at the time when the people were assembled to receive it. In the prayer for the church militant here on earth, a thanksgiving was inserted, to make the latter part correspond

* The excellence of our collects in general, is admitted by all who have either taste or knowledge of devotional composition. No church possesses, nor ever has possessed, a more judicious and valuable selection. Yet some of them might receive improvement, though only from the hand of a master. This at least was the opinion of the learned Bishops and Divines who were commissioned in 1689 to prepare, for the consideration of the Convocation, *alterations of the Liturgy, &c.*

with these introductory words, *and to give thanks for all men.* At the reading of the gospel, and at the recitation of the Nicene Creed, the people were ordered to stand, no directions about the attitude having been given in the old books. At the consecration of the bread and wine, marginal rubrics were added to direct the Minister, as had originally been done in Edward's Liturgy, but not in the latter books: and provision was made for consecrating more bread, and wine, should more of either be wanted. Some new rubrical directions were placed at the end of the communion, and in many of the offices; whilst others, that were thought no longer necessary, were discharged.

In the office of public baptism of infants, was added the interrogation, *Wilt thou keep God's holy will and commandments, and walk in the same all the days of thy life?* together with the answer; and in the collect preceding the act of baptising the child, the words "*sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin,*" were inserted. A new office of baptism for those of riper years was composed. The two psalms were prefixed to the lesson in the burial service*. The forms of prayer to be used at sea, for the martyrdom of King Charles I. and for the restoration of the Royal Family, were likewise added. Whoever will compare the late book with the present, must discover various other alterations, most of which, however, are too minute to require particular enumeration.

By the suggestion of Tillotson, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, a commission was issued in the former part of the reign of William III. to the most eminent of the clergy, authorising and requiring them to prepare *such Alterations of the Liturgy, and consult such other matters, as in their judgments might most conduce to the edification and union of the church, and to the reconciling, as much as possible, all differ-*

* In Edward's first book, the 116, 139, 146 were appointed. These were omitted in the second book, and no others were substituted till 1661.

ences. The Bishops in this commission were, LAMPLUGH of *York*, COMPTON of *London*, MEW of *Winchester*, SPRAT of *Rochester*, SMITH of *Carlisle*, TRELAWNEY of *Exeter*, BURNETT of *Salisbury*, HUMPHREYS of *Bangor*, and STRAFFORD of *Chester*. Besides the Bishops, the commission was composed of twenty Divines, among whom were, STILLINGFLEET, PATRICK, TILLOTSON, KIDDER, and TENISON. By these commissioners some new Collects were drawn up more agreeable to the Epistles and Gospels, and they are said to have been written with great force and beauty of expression*. The first draught was made by PATRICK, who possessed a peculiar talent for composing prayers. Energy and spirit were infused by BURNET. STILLINGFLEET examined every word with the exactest judgment: and TILLOTSON gave the last polish, by the free and masterly touches of his natural and flowing eloquence. KIDDER made a new version of the psalms, which is said to be more conformable to the original: and TENISON collected all the words and expressions throughout the Liturgy, that had been excepted against, and proposed others in their room, which were either more clear and plain, or less liable to objection†.

When the Alterations agreed upon by the Commissioners were prepared, they were submitted to a Convocation, which in consequence of the jealousy of the high-church party, and of disagreement between the two houses, was repeatedly prorogued, and finally dissolved, without effecting any one of the purposes for which it was convened. Of course *the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church, according*

* Nicholls says, Collectæ cum tantâ verborum elegantiâ, atque splendore, tantâque Christianæ mentis vi, atque ardore compositæ sunt, ut nihil possit animos audientium magis afficere, et accendere, et eorum mentes ad deum evehere. Def. eccl. Anglic. Who does not regret, that these collects, improved by men so well qualified to reduce them to the standard of perfection, remain unknown, and unseen?

† Life of Tillotson by Birch.

to the use of the church of England, revised, and amended, in the manner already described, by the Convocation of 1661, stands confirmed and ratified by the Authority of Parliament.

Of the origin of our Liturgy, and of the successive improvements, by which it attained its present purity and excellence, I have now given a narrative, as minute, as is consistent with the nature of an introductory discourse. It only remains, that I give some account of what has been attempted in the following Elucidation of a very important part of this Liturgy, and of the writers, to whom I have been chiefly indebted for assistance.

In the Elucidation of the Morning and Evening Prayer, I have endeavoured to combine critical information with practical instruction; an account of the origin and antiquity of our Rites and Ceremonies, with their application to the purposes of devotion.

This, it seems to me, has not been attempted by any writer on the subject; unless I were to except COMBER in his *Companion to the Temple*. But COMBER's work, though containing much valuable matter, and apparently the grand source from which a great part of all succeeding publications on our Liturgy has been drawn, is, at once, both redundant and defective. In the practical, or devotional part, it is tedious and diffuse; and in the literary, or critical, sometimes erroneous.

The publication in most general use, I apprehend, is WHEATLY's on the Common Prayer. WHEATLY has, undoubtedly, collected much useful intelligence: and where he follows the authority of former English Ritualists, (and he appears to have been little acquainted with any other,) he is commonly right: but when he relies upon his own judgment, and ventures to give an opinion, he is almost as commonly mistaken. For this reason it is that, in the following work, I have made no use whatever of his *Illustration*.

The

The authors from whom *Wheatly's* book is principally compiled, are COSENS, SPARROW, L'ESTRANGE*, COMBER, BENNET, NICHOLLS, and BINGHAM. To the greater part of these, and to COMBER in particular, I have large obligations: and I am likewise indebted to HOOKER, HEYLIN, STILLINGFLEET, USHER, PEARSON, CAVE, BULL, BURNET, HOADLEY, FULLER, COLLIER, STRYPE, and ABP. SECKER.

Where I have quoted, or referred to, *ancient* or *foreign* writers, I have rarely trusted to subsequent authors. In a few instances, indeed, the inspection of originals could not be obtained; but on such occasions I have generally cited the writer on whose authority I depended.

Of the ancient and foreign writers, ecclesiastical or liturgical, whom I thought it necessary to examine, few were to be found on the shelves of my own scanty library, and some could only be occasionally consulted in a public repository. In my references to these, therefore, I fear I may have reason to apologize for errors of transcription; for typographical errors I do not hold myself responsible.

Having thus discharged the debt of gratitude which I owe to the dead, I should be happy, were I permitted, to make public acknowledgement to two or three living characters, who have occasionally favoured me with their opinion and assistance.

It is obvious that my ambition has been, not to appear as an original writer on the Common Prayer, but to arrange, unite, and reduce to a convenient form, what has been said by preceding authors on the subject. Sometimes, perhaps, I may have improved, what they had left imperfect, and rectified, what they had stated erroneously.

I trust, that I have no where spoken with unchristian acrimony of the opinions, or usages of those, who are not of our Communion: and if I have occasionally endeavoured to display the excellence of that form of Common Prayer,

* Not Sir Roger, but Hamond L'Estrange, Esq.

which, after mature consideration, our forefathers adopted; it was from a conviction that the form is less liable to exception than any one that has hitherto been devised.

At the conclusion of the original Introduction, I intimated a design of elucidating, in a similar manner, the *Litany*, the *Communion Service*, and the other *Offices* of the established church *; provided the present volume should meet with such a share of the public approbation as to encourage me to proceed. The demand for a second Edition, is a proof that the Work has not been disrelished. This Edition I have, in some instances, enlarged, and, in others, endeavoured to improve. I have only further to announce, that the Elucidation of the *other offices* is in a state of considerable forwardness, and will appear, as soon as the nature of the undertaking, and parochial engagements, will permit me to render it, in any tolerable degree, worthy of the subject, and of public acceptance.

* An Elucidation of these, might, it is presumed, form a volume of nearly the same size with the present.

A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION

&c.

OF

THE ORDER FOR

MORNING PRAYER

DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE first Rubric* commands the officiating minister to begin the service by reading one, or more of

* Rubrics are the rules, and directions, given in the book of Common Prayer, for the proper performance of the respective offices of the Church. They are called Rubrics, because directions similar to them were formerly distinguished, by appearing in red characters, both in written and printed books. The Latin word *Rubrica*, from which the English term Rubric is immediately derived, means read earth, red ochre, &c.: in a figurative sense, it signifies marks put upon sheep; it more particularly denotes the contents of a book, especially of a book of civil law, the title, heads, and indexes of which were written in red letters. The Rubrics of the *Missal* and other Romish Offices are still printed in red Characters. In our older Books of Common Prayer, the Ru-

of the sentences that follow, with a loud, that is, with a clear, audible, intelligible voice *.

This direction was peculiarly proper at the reformation, before which Era, both the priest and people had been enjoined to repeat in *secret* the *Pater Noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Creedo*, at the beginning of Mattins, and other daily offices. — The first Book of Common Prayer in *English*, ordains that “ the priest being in the choir shall begin “ with a loud voice the Lord’s Prayer, called the “ *Pater Noster*,” neither the sentences, exhortation, confession, nor absolution, being then prefixed.

INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES.

“ Before thou prayest, prepare thyself, and be “ not as one that tempteth the Lord,” is the counsel of the author of Ecclesiasticus xviii. 23; and with this corresponds the instruction given by the wisest of the sons of men, “ Let not thine

bricks are distinguished from the text, by appearing in a smaller type. In the books of the last century, the Rubrics are generally printed in Roman letters, while the liturgy itself remains in the old English, or black letter. In this manner are printed the *Sealed Books*, and the larger Editions of 1662, &c.; but in all modern legitimate editions, the whole of the offices, excepting the responses, is, I believe, universally printed in the Roman character, and the Rubrics in the Italic.

* The first Rubric, in the *Ordo Missæ*, is, *Sacerdos clarâ voce dicit, &c. Voce intelligibili*, in the *Ceremoniale* and *Breviary*, is used to express the same thing.

“ heart

“ heart be hasty to utter any word before God.” Ecclef. v. 2. Indeed the elevation of the soul to our Creator in public prayer is an act so awful and solemn, requiring such compofure, and devout application of the mind, that, without preceding preparation, it cannot be fuitably performed. Hence the Jews were directed to meditate a little in filence, after they had entered the Synagogue, and before they began their devotions*. And Cyprian informs us, that in the primitive church, the minifter, by a prefatory addrefs, prepared the minds of the brethren for prayer †.

In conformity to thefe precepts, and in imitation of thefe examples, the church of England begins her daily prayer with one or more folemn fentences, felected from Holy Scripture. Al-

* Ad preces autem descendere non debent simulac ingrediuntur, fed aliquantisper filentium facere, & ipfi fecum reputare. *Buxtor. Synag. Jud. c. 5.*

† Sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmiſſa parat fratrum mentes, dicendo, *ſurſum corda.* *Cypr. de Orat. Domin.* Theſe words of Cyprian, which as Fell and Marshall have obſerved, are one proof of the antiquity of forms of Prayer, afford us an occaſion of *proteſting* againſt a groſs calumny upon our Liturgy, which either ignorance, or malevolence has repreſented as moſtly taken from “the Maſs Book, and Popiſh Offices.” *Liſt up your hearts, we liſt them up unto the Lord,* ſtand in the ancient Liturgies of the Eaſt and Weſt. *Let us give thanks to our Lord God, it is very meet, right, &c.,* are mentioned by Cyril, Chryſoſtom, and Auſtin. Many of the forms retained by the Church of England are older than the corruptions introduced by popery : and Stillingfleet has ſhewn that where the ancient *Britiſh* or *Gallican* churches differed from the *Roman*, the Reformers followed them, and not the Roman.

mighty God, whom we are going to address, whose pity and mercy we are about to implore, is first introduced speaking to us, by the mouth of his minister, out of his most holy word: And if we expect him to hear our prayers, it is but reasonable that we should hearken to his voice.

The general tendency of the sentences is, to enforce repentance. Sin, unrepented of, above all things, disqualifies men for prayer, and prevents their petitions from being heard, and accepted at the throne of grace.

In the choice of the particular sentences our reformers have evinced their usual judgement. None more appropriate to the occasion are to be found in Holy Writ. Indeed the venerable compilers of our Liturgy have walked, like skilful physicians, in the garden of God. Finding it plentifully stored with medicines for the cure of spiritual diseases, they have collected only a few of the most potent and useful. These are somewhat different in their operation, but they are all calculated to produce the same effect, that is, to bring men to repentance. Our reformers considered, that some men are ignorant, others negligent; that some are obdurate, others tender; that some are confident and presumptuous, and others fearful and desponding; Knowing the various temperaments of various persons, and the different disposition of the same man at different times, they have presented us with a considerable variety, leaving it to the discretion of the officiating

officiating minister to apply such, as he may judge best adapted to the spiritual case of those, whose welfare he is appointed to consult.

The full import of the sentences, it is to be feared, is not generally understood; neither is the recital of them, in all churches, always attended to, with the reverence they deserve. Hence it is possible, that the pious intentions of the composers of the Liturgy may, at the very outset of the service, in some degree, be frustrated. On these grounds, it is presumed, that a fuller illustration of the Introductory Sentences, than of some other parts of the service, may be required.

It may likewise be proper to arrange together such sentences as have a nearer affinity and relation to each other. This method will afford every man an opportunity of employing his private meditations, before the service begins*, upon
such

* Before the service of the church begins, it is likewise proper that Christians should address themselves to God in private prayer. A form of prayer, like the following, has been recommended for this purpose by some respectable members of our community to be used at our entrance into the church.

O Lord, I am now in thine house. Assist, I pray thee, and accept my services. Enable me, and all those that shall this day meet in thy name, to worship thee in spirit and in truth. Let thy holy spirit help our infirmities, and dispose our hearts to seriousness, attention and devotion. And grant that we may improve this opportunity to the honour of thy holy name, and the benefit of our souls, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

such subjects as are best suited to his present frame of mind and spiritual circumstances. For every serious person best knows his own state, and will naturally be led to contemplate such subjects, as correspond with his present disposition. And these, of course, will be the best calculated, to promote in him, sincere repentance, and true devotion.

In this view the sentences may be considered as addressed to persons of five different descriptions. They afford,

1. *INSTRUCTION* to the Ignorant and Erroneous. 1 John i. 8. 9. Ezek. xviii. 2.

The prayer is so plain, that it requires little explication. It petitions for acceptance and abilities to worship God properly, for seriousness, attention, and devotion, that by our solemn meeting we may promote his honour, and obtain his blessing. This form may easily be prolonged, or diversified as each man's particular circumstances may require.

The prayer subjoined may be used with advantage, when the service is ended.

Blessed be thy name, O Lord, for this opportunity of attending thee in thy house and service. Pardon, I beseech thee, my wanderings and imperfections. Mercifully accept my services, and grant that I, and all Christians, may be doers of thy word and not hearers only, through our only mediator Jesus Christ. Amen.

These two prayers are, with little variation extracted from a Tract, entitled "Directions for a devout and decent behaviour in the Public Worship of God," and generally prefixed to the books of Common Prayer, dispersed by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. The Tract may be bought for 9s. per hundred, at Messrs. Rivington's, Booksellers to the Society.

2. *ADMONITION* to the Negligent and Inconsiderate. Ps. LI. 3. Mat. III. 2.

3. *MODELS OF PENITENTIAL DEVOTION* to those who are apprehensive of God's Judgements. Ps. LI. 9. Ps. CXLIII. 2. Jer. X. 24.

4. *ENCOURAGEMENT* and *CONSOLATION* to the Diffident and Contrite. Ps. LI. 17. Dan. ix. 9. Luke. xv. 18, 19.

5. And *CAUTION* to the Ceremonious and Formal. Joel II. 13.

SENTENCES AFFORDING INSTRUCTION TO THE IGNORANT AND ERRONEOUS.

Many Persons attend the public worship, who are grossly ignorant of their real state. Insensible of their guilt, and inapprehensive of their danger, they either think that they have no sin; or suppose that a slight confession of it will obtain them pardon. These surely stand in need of information, before they join in the public service. And we are here furnished with two striking passages from Holy Scripture, admirably adapted to instruct their ignorance, and rectify their errors.

The one more immediately proceeds from the mouth of God, and is delivered by his prophet. The other is addressed by St. John, the beloved Apostle and Evangelist, to the Catholic Church, that is, to the whole Christian world.

If any man be so ignorant, as to suppose, that a few slight petitions to heaven will obtain the pardon of his past offences, let him weigh the import of the following words :

When the wicked man, &c.

This passage is taken out of the 18th chapter of Ezekiel ; a chapter, which I exhort every Christian, frequently to read, and attentively to consider. God here plainly declares, that if he, who had before led an habitual good life, unfortunately fall into sinful courses, he shall forfeit God's favour, and " his former righteousness shall not be mentioned."—" in his trespass that he hath trespassed, and in his sin that he hath sinned ; " in them shall he die." On the other hand, Almighty God solemnly avows, that whenever, the sinner, by unfeigned repentance, turns to him, he will restore him to his favour. However wicked and abominable his former life may have been, yet if he see his errors, be heartily sorry for them, and forsake them ; if he endeavour to do " what is lawful and right," walking in the statutes of God, and observing his judgments : and if this new state of life be sincere and permanent, then, he shall not die, " he shall save his soul alive."—He shall be delivered from the misery denounced upon final impenitence, and shall obtain everlasting happiness and glory.

But some are not sensible of their guilt.—Ignorance, or vanity, prompts them to fancy that they
have

have no sin, and consequently, no need of repentance. To counteract the effects of so fatal a delusion, the following passage from St. John is introduced, to which the self-righteous, the presumptuous self-deceiver, will do well to attend :

If we say, &c.

In this state of imperfection the best men are liable to many frailties, and all of us offend God daily. The Apostle declares, that if we say, or think in our hearts, that we live without sin, we deceive, not God, who sees and will punish our guilt, but ourselves, by believing a most gross falsehood. He assures us, that the truth of God's word, which says, that "all have sinned." is not in us. Whereas, if we examine our hearts, acknowledge our sins, and repent of them, God has promised, and Christ has purchased us, pardon. His faithfulness and justice will fulfil his promise. He will forgive us our past sins, and by his grace, and the assistance of his holy spirit, he will, for the future, preserve us from "all deadly sin," and "confirm and stablish us in every good work."

ADMONITION TO THE NEGLIGENT AND INCONSIDERATE.

Others are not ignorant, but negligent. They are ready enough to acknowledge their sin, and appear to be aware of their danger. But though they

they are convinced, that, without repentance and amendment of life, neither their prayers, nor persons will be accepted by God, yet they defer from day to day, from week to week, from month to month, from year to year, the practice of these duties. To excite such persons to repent in earnest, the church furnishes us with two striking passages. The former is taken from the 51st Psalm, in which the royal Psalmist, after the commission of a very grievous crime, makes confession of his sin before God:

I acknowledge my transgressions, &c.

Conscious that he has offended God, he does not, when reproved by the mouth of the Prophet*, attempt to conceal, or extenuate his offence. He confesses it with all its aggravations; he avows that his conscience knows no rest, and that the sense of his sin haunts him day and night. Now if holy David, when, in one deplorable instance, he had been surprised into sin, entertained such dreadful apprehensions of God's anger, let the thoughtless, inconsiderate sinner reflect, what impressions the sense of his manifold offences should make upon his mind.

If he disregard the example of David, let him attend to the summons from God, delivered by the Baptist, commanding all men, especially the thoughtless and inconsiderate, to repent:

Repent ye, &c.

That is, by repentance and reformation make

* See 2 Sam. c. xii.

your peace with God, whilst the day of life, and the kingdom of grace last. If you live and die in your sins, you will, at the Day of Judgment, which precedes Christ's kingdom of glory, be excluded from heaven, and cast into hell.

MODELS OF PENITENTIAL DEVOTION TO THOSE
WHO ARE APPREHENSIVE OF GOD'S JUDGMENTS.

By the preceding sentences we have been taught, that men universally deserve the wrath of God, and that all should "fear before him." But when we observe, in the person of the humble penitent, how apt the excessive dread of God's righteous judgment is to deject the heart, oppress the spirits, and prevent the exercise of devotion, we discover with what propriety, the compilers of our Common Prayer, have, in the three succeeding sentences, supplied us with models of penitential supplication.

Hide thy face, &c.

Let us suppose a sinner, awakened to a true sense of his deplorable situation, and looking around him for help and deliverance. Above, is an insulted, offended God, prepared to take vengeance: Below, the fiery gulph gapes ready to receive him. In this season of distress and dismay, the example of David will teach him, not to turn away through fear from the Almighty, but to approach him more speedily, and to pray to him more humbly, and earnestly, for the pardon of his sins. The royal penitent here re-iter-

ates

ates his former requests, that God would cease to behold his iniquity, that he would blot it out, as a man blots out what he has written, so that it can never be read again.

Enter not into judgment, &c.

Here David urges the fallen, sinful, wretched state of human nature. Of all the sons of Adam, not one could be saved, should God enter into judgment with him*, and instead of pardoning his offences by an act of grace, inflict the punishment due to them by the rigor of the law. The thought of such a trial, appals the soul of the best man living, makes his flesh to tremble, and all his bones to shake. To God's grace and mercy, through the merits of Christ alone, the most innocent man living must owe his justification and acquittal.

O Lord, correct, &c.

If the justice of Jehovah is determined to punish, and the penitent offender cannot be forgiven without some chastisement, the humble supplication of the prophet instructs us to pray, that it may be inflicted, not with the vindictive fury of an adversary, but with the moderation of a merciful judge †. Should the Lord proceed with
rigor

* The word rendered *judgment* is used in Scripture in a very extensive signification. Here it implies a strict judicial process against the *guilty*, and the consequence of such a trial before an *infallible* judge, i. e. condemnation and the execution of judgment.

† The word rendered judgment, as we observed above, is taken

rigor proportionate to the sinner's demerit, he would be totally consumed; reduced to a state worse than annihilation.

CONSOLATION TO THE DIFFIDENT AND CONTRITE.

That the heart of the penitent overwhelmed with grief may not despair of forgiveness, as if God were utterly irreconcilable, and no more to be intreated, and to prepare him to supplicate mercy through faith and repentance, the church has provided three sentences for the encouragement of those who are diffident of God's favour, and for the consolation of the contrite:

The sacrifices of God, &c.

The first shews, how well qualified such persons are to pray for pardon; that with a penitent and contrite heart God is well pleased; that a broken spirit, a soul pierced with the many genuine sorrows, which always accompany true repentance, is a sacrifice, which he will most graciously accept.

ken in a great latitude. Here it is used in the favourable sense. Correct me, but with judgment: that is, favourably, reasonably, moderately. Taylor's Heb. Concord.—Cum judicio, i. e. modicè, in modo. Junius. See Jeremiah, xxx. 11. "I will correct thee in measure, and not leave thee altogether unpunished." The original is literally, "I will chasten thee in judgment, and in clearing thee I will not clear thee." That is, I will deal mercifully with thee, and though justice requires that I should punish thee, yet thou shalt not be utterly destroyed.

To the Lord, our God, belong, &c.

In the former sentence, we saw how well qualified the penitent heart is to pray for forgiveness. This demonstrates God's readiness to forgive. Though we have violated his holy laws, taken up arms, and lived in a state of open rebellion against his divine majesty, yet he is the God of mercies. If we repent, he will pardon. Let his pity in sparing, and his goodness in restoring us, encourage us to draw near him, and make confession of our sins before him.

To enforce the former declarations, the third sentence under this head, *I will arise, &c.*, proves by the example of one, whose condition was as wretched, whose offences were as great, and whose forgiveness was as unlikely, as ours can possibly be, that every true penitent, who ventures to return to his heavenly Father, may have the fullest assurance of meeting with a kind reception; and that those things, which the sense of our unworthiness makes us ashamed to ask, his voluntary bounty is ready to bestow.

CAUTION TO THE CEREMONIOUS AND FORMAL.

In the last place, should any, by the frequent use of these public offices, grow cold and careless, or ceremonious and formal, should they begin to rest solely, on established rites, and customary observances, repeating the confession and the prayers without any corresponding affections of devotion,
to

to them the Church addressees that direction and reproof, which God himself addressed to the hypocritical Jews:

Rend your hearts, &c.

The Jews were forward enough to exhibit the exterior formalities of sorrow, and repentance, whilst their principles remained unaltered, and their hearts were devoid of true contrition. To the outward signs of mourning, the prophet exhorts them to add inward sorrow. God regards the disposition of our minds more than the posture of our bodies. When you come to confess your sins before God, rend your heart with grief for your offences, and fear of his displeasure. Turn your hearts unto the Lord, whom with your lips you call your God. The gracious mercy, long suffering, and benignity of God, are the greatest encouragements to expect his pardon. Though he has determined to punish, he is more desirous to spare. He will repent, and will not inflict the evil he has threatened, provided you repent of the evil you have committed. And shall we approach with frigid formality, when we come to confess our sins, and supplicate forgiveness of so good and gracious a God? Let us not only bend the suppliant knee, but bow down the “humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart,” whenever we assemble in the house of our God “to praise his holy name, to give him thanks, to hear his word, and to ask those things that are requisite and necessary both for our bodies and souls.”

THE EXHORTATION*.

As a farther preparation for addressing ourselves acceptably to God, and that all may understand aright the duty of repentance, which all are concerned to practise, our church has, after the sentences, added a solemn and seasonable Exhortation, partly deduced from them, and intended to illustrate and apply them.

From the word of God, the Exhortation infers the necessity of confessing our sins. It directs, *how* this duty is to be performed; and thus connects the preceding sentences with the following general confession.

And let not the pious care of the church be insulted, or abused by the irreverence, or inattention of any of her members. During the reading of the sentences and exhortation†, it is not the business

* The Common Prayer of the church of England was drawn up by our reformers, not solely for the public service of the Church. It was likewise intended to be a guide in family worship. When it is used in private devotion, the Exhortation may be turned into a prayer, preparatory to the Confession, and thus abridged:

Almighty God, and heavenly Father, who, in sundry places of thy most holy word, hast commanded us to acknowledge, and confess our manifold sins, and wickedness unto thee, give us grace, at this time, to confess them, with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, to the end that we may obtain forgiveness of the same, by thy infinite goodness and mercy.—And this we beg through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

† Give me leave, says Dr. Bennet, to observe, that the Sentences, the Exhortation, the Absolution, and those other Parts of the Liturgy,

ness of the people to mutter the words after the minister, much less is it allowable to exchange offices of courtesy and civility. The duty of the people is, silently and seriously to attend to what the minister delivers *.

The affectionate and apostolic salutation, "Dear-ly beloved brethren," is intended to engage the attention of the congregation, and to express the tender love of the minister for the souls of those committed to his charge. He knows what God expects from us; he sees the danger of our neglect, and therefore, he admonishes us, to confess our sins, to repent of them and to amend our lives. It is not from his own, nor any human authority, that he does this. From the introductory sentences, as well as from various other pas-

turgy, which are directed or spoken to the people only, ought to be uttered after a quite different manner, from that which becomes the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, and those other parts of the Liturgy, which are directed and spoken to God. The voice must be so managed, as plainly to signify and declare a remarkable distinction; that even the most heedless people may know and understand, when the minister speaks to them, and when to their Maker. Wherefore all parts of the Liturgy are not to be read with one and the same continued tone; but such a manifest alteration of the tone must constantly be made, as is suitable to the several parts of it. *Paraphrase on the Common Prayer.*

* To every member of our communion, and to the *young* in particular, I earnestly recommend the frequent perusal of the little Tract, already mentioned in page 6; entitled "Directions for a devout and decent Behaviour in the Public Worship of God:"—It is one of the best companions to the Book of Common Prayer that I have seen.

sages of Scripture, it is plain, that Confession and Repentance, is not the imposition of our spiritual guides or civil governors. They are duties required by God himself, and the practice of them is indispensably necessary to salvation. The minister of the Gospel, like the prophets of the old Testament, comes armed with "the sword of the spirit, the word of God." They that legitimately minister in spiritual things have an office, which they received, neither from the Legislature, nor "the will of man, but from God." And however mean and contemptible the speech, person, or worldly circumstances of the minister of Christ Jesus may appear, from him you hear the voice of God, commanding all men every where to acknowledge their transgressions, to make humble confession of their sins, and to repent.

He that disregards the command, disregards not man, but God; and by that word, which now calls you to confession and repentance, you will, if you disobey the summons, be finally condemned.

To attempt to dissemble or extenuate your sins before God's all-seeing eye, is only an aggravation of your offence. It is to add in the assembly of the church, and in the presence of the holy Angels, to the black catalogue of your numerous transgressions, the detestable crime of hypocrisy.

The word of God is both a monitor to remind us of our duty, and a guide to direct us in the
per-

performance of it. From that word, the church has selected the three essential points of true repentance. The first admonishes us to confess our sins with humility and lowliness of heart, with a heart sensible of our own vileness and unworthiness, like that of the Publican, who “stood afar off and would not so much as lift up his eyes to heaven.” This must be accompanied with penitential sorrow, contrition, and remorse, for having offended so good and merciful a God. These will produce the third essential of repentance, an “obedient heart,” and make us firmly resolve and earnestly endeavour for the future “to keep God’s holy will and commandments.” To such repentance God has graciously annexed forgiveness. But we are not to presume, that there is any thing like merit in our repentance and obedience. For forgiveness and justification we are indebted solely to the “infinite mercy and goodness of God,” through the meritorious sufferings, and efficacious mediation of our Lord, and Saviour, Jesus Christ*.

The

* We are forgiven, acquitted, absolved, and “accounted righteous;” or, as our translation sometimes renders the word, “justified before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.” Article XI. For a fuller account of this wholesome and comfortable doctrine, the article refers to the *Homily of Justification*, (meaning, it is presumed, the Homily, which treats of justification, entitled *A Sermon on the Salvation of Mankind*, and divided into three parts.) In this Homily the church lays down the plain Christian doctrine of justification in general terms. Into spe-

The Exhortation proceeds to remind us, that we should acknowledge our daily transgressions, at all times, and in all places, morning, noon, and night, in our private devotions in the closet, as well as in the stated public service of the church. One of the fittest times, however, and one of the most proper places, for the discharge of this duty is, when we are assembled in the house of God. In this sacred place we meet together for the purpose of performing the four principal parts of public worship*.

1. To “give him thanks” for his innumerable blessings and benefits, for all his goodness, and loving kindness to the children of men. This we do in our general thanksgiving, and in several of the psalms.

2. To “set forth his most worthy praise,” to laud and glorify his holy name, which we do in psalms, hymns, anthems and doxologies.

culative points, which were discussed with warmth at the very time when the Article and Homily were composed, our church, according to her usual wisdom and moderation, declines to enter. May a moiety at least of *her* spirit at length rest upon all her sons!

* This division of the leading duties of public worship accords remarkably with the account Austin gives of the practice of Christian assemblies. With a simple transposition of the clauses, the sentence stands thus: *Veri Dei aut miracula narrantur, aut dona laudantur, aut præcepta insinuantur, aut beneficia postulantur. Aug. Civ. Dei. lib. II. c. xxviii.*

And Tertullian had long before expressed nearly the same thing: *In Ecclesia inter dominica solemnia, prout scripturæ leguntur, aut psalmi canuntur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur. Tertull. de Anima. c. ix.*

3. “To

3. "To hear his most holy word," which is read to us in the lessons, and expounded to us in sermons.

4. And lastly, "to ask those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body as the soul;" that is, to pray for the continuance of spiritual and temporal blessings, which we do in the collects, supplications, intercessions, and more particularly in the Litany.

Now not one of these services can be duly performed, that is, so performed as to become acceptable to God, and beneficial to ourselves, without previous confession, and sincere repentance.

1. We cannot be truly thankful to God, whilst we abuse his mercies. 2. We cannot praise and adore those divine perfections, of which in our impenitent, unregenerate state we have little sense or experience. 3. Replete with carnal lusts and sinful affections, we can neither be devout hearers nor faithful doers of his holy word. 4. And we cannot hope for the success of those prayers and petitions, which we know the wickedness of our lives renders "an abomination unto the Lord."

That we may not attend the public worship in vain, and, what is more deplorable, carry back with us a curse instead of a blessing, the minister beseeches us to join with him in the following confession of our sins. The ambassador of God, knowing that our heavenly father stands ready to receive us, and is graciously disposed to grant our requests,

requests, entreats us to accompany him to the throne of grace. He puts words into our mouths, and speaks with us and for us. He directs us, to approach with sincerity and purity of heart, with becoming gravity and circumspection; and meekly kneeling upon our knees*, to address the throne of heavenly grace, not with a loud and clamorous voice, not with an inarticulate motion of the lips, but with a low humble voice suited to the solemnity of the General Confession†.

THE

* Kneeling in prayer, says Archbishop Secker, (7th sermon in 6th volume) especially in this part, has not only ancient authority, but nature likewise, on its side: and so strongly expresses and excites inward humility, that it should never be omitted wilfully or negligently, in favour of ease and indolence. Still they whose infirmities will not permit them to be on their knees without pain, or hurt, may allowably stand, or even sit. Again, some pews are so constructed, that in full congregations, every one cannot conveniently kneel. In such a case we must be contented with *standing*, which, though it be a less eligible posture than *kneeling*, is greatly preferable to sitting.

† It is highly reasonable, that the minister should make such a pause between the end of the Exhortation, and the beginning of the Confession, that the whole congregation may have sufficient time, deliberately, and without the least hurry, to put their bodies in a praying posture, and to direct their minds to God, and fix them upon the divine Majesty, so that they may be thoroughly composed for so solemn and heavenly an exercise, by that time the minister begins the Confession. I intreat the people also to remember, that when they are repeating the several portions of the Confession after the minister, they are speaking to God, and transacting with him the grand affair of repentance, and reconciliation to his favor, upon which their everlasting happiness depends. Let them therefore not
behave

THE GENERAL CONFESSION.

Prayer is unquestionably the most useful and edifying part of divine worship; and Confession is one of the most solemn and interesting parts of prayer. It has been already observed, and ought to be remembered, that, till he has confessed his sins, no person can be properly qualified to join in the public worship of God. It therefore behoves all to be early in their attendance at the house of prayer *, that they may have time to compose their minds by holy meditation, to reflect upon their offences, and to prepare for joining in this Confession. For though in some instances Sacredotal Absolution may be dispensed with, yet without Confession, there is no remission to be expected at the hand of God. Prov. xxviii. 13. 1 John i. 8, 9, 10. On this account the Confession is placed by the Church of England in the beginning of the service. In this regulation of her daily offices, our church

behave themselves after a careless and slovenly manner; let them not utter the words in such a tone, as proves that they do not mind what they say, or to whom they speak. Let them so perform this duty that it may obtain the remission, and not add to the number of their sins. *Bennet's Paraphrase.*

* Hence we perceive the impropriety of habitually coming too late to church. Loitering in the church-yard after the service is begun, is likewise a practice extremely reprehensible, and yet very common in some country parishes.

imitates the example of pious men of old *, who lived under the Mosaical dispensation, and conforms to the practice of the purer ages of the Christian church. “With us,” says Basil, “all the
 “ people come early in the morning, while it is
 “ yet dark, to the house of prayer, and with
 “ sorrow, and with affliction, and with profusion of
 “ tears, make confession of their sins to God†.”

By the Rubric, this confession is appointed to be said of the whole congregation, after the minister; and in the ancient Christian church, the confession of sins, like our confession of faith, was made jointly by the priest and people, “All,
 “ as it were, with one voice and one heart,” says Basil, “make their confession unto the Lord,
 “ each man expressing his own repentance with
 “ his own mouth ‡.”

Forms of confession are generally to be met with in the Liturgies of antiquity, but a form, superior, or equal to our own, is no where to be found §.

Our

* See Ezra, ix. 5, &c. and Daniel, ix. 3, &c., where these holy men confess their own sins, and the sins of the people in the humblest manner, and pour forth the most pathetic deprecations, supplications, and intercessions before God.

† Εκ νυκτος γαρ ορθριζει παρ’ ημιν ο λαος επι τον οικον της προσευχης, και εν πονω, και εν θλιψει, και εν συνοχη δακρυων εξομολογουμενοι τω θεω, τελευταιον, &c. *Basil, Ep. 63.*

‡ Παν-ες κοινη, ως εξ ενος στοματος, και μιας καρδας τον της εξομολογησεως ψαλμον αναφερουσι τω κυριω, ιδια εαυτων εκαστος τα ρηματα της μετανοιας ποιουμενοι. *Id. Ibid.*

§ In favour of the practice of inserting confessions in public Liturgies

Our confession, like the prayer which Jesus taught us, though concise, is comprehensive and full. It is conceived in * general terms, yet at the same time,

turgies, and of the excellence of our form, they, who have seceded from the church, bear the most unequivocal testimony. Notwithstanding their rage for innovation, our confession, (except the words *And there is no health in us,*) is literally retained in the third edition of the reformed Liturgy of the Socinians.

* It has indeed been blamed by the adversaries of our church for being too general. Of the reasonableness of their objections and the validity of our vindication the reader may judge from the exceptions, that were made in writing by the Presbyterian clergy, and the answers returned by the Episcopalian commissioners appointed to review the Liturgy in 1661.

Among their exceptions, the objectors observe, that “ the public
“ Liturgy of a church ought to comprehend the sum of all such sins
“ as are ordinarily to be confessed in prayer, and to take in such
“ petitions and thanksgivings as are commonly to be put up by the
“ church; and the points should be set down in a clear explicit man-
“ ner;” and here they pretend “ the Liturgy is defective as to all
“ these matters.” This general *exception* they exemplify *particu-
larly*.

1. “ There is no preparatory prayer in the beginning of the
“ service, for God’s assistance and acceptance, yet many collects in
“ the midst of the worship, have little, or nothing else.”

2. “ The confession is very defective. Original sin is not clearly
“ expressed, nor actual sins with their aggravations sufficiently
“ enumerated. The form consists only of *generals*, whereas con-
“ fession, being an exercise of repentance, ought to be more parti-
“ cular.”

3. “ The whole body of the Common Prayer consists very
“ much of mere generals: as *to be kept from all evil, from all ene-
“ mies, from all adversity, that we may do God’s will*: without
“ any mention of the particulars in which these generals exist.”

To

time, it is so particular, that it includes every kind of sin. Where the minister is not too precipitate, when

To these exceptions the Commissioners who represented the church of England reply, that “whereas it was objected there was no preparatory prayer in our Liturgy for God’s assistance or acceptance, they answer *this is plain misreporting the Common Prayer.* For, besides a preparatory exhortation, there are several preparatory prayers,” upon the heads in which, it is pretended, the Liturgy of the church of England is deficient: as “*Despise not, O Lord, humble and contrite hearts;* which was one of the introductory sentences. *That those things may please him which we do at this present,* at the end of the absolution, and again immediately after the Lord’s Prayer, *O Lord, open thou our lips, &c.*”

To the Presbyterians’ objection against the church’s confession being couched in general terms, the Episcopalian divines answer, “that this is rather a perfection than a defect: That the offices are intended for *common* use: That *general* services cease to be such by descending to particulars. When confession of sins is general, all persons may and must join in it, since in many things we offend all. But if the enumeration of sin were particular, it would not be so well suited to the use of the congregation, because it may happen that some persons may by God’s grace have been preserved from several of those sins enumerated; and therefore by confessing themselves guilty, they would lie to Almighty God, and thus stand in need of a *new* confession.”

“As for original sin, we think it an *evil custom*, springing from *false doctrine*, to use any such expressions as may lead people to think, that to persons baptized (in whose persons only our prayers are offered up) original sin is not forgiven in baptism; original sin, we conceive to be sufficiently acknowledged in the church’s confessing that, *without God’s help our frailty cannot but fall, that our mortal nature can do no good thing without him; and that there is no health in us.*”

“They (the Dissenters) complain the Liturgy contains too many
“generals,

when he allows the congregation time to repeat it, with such deliberation, that their hearts may go along with their words, each individual may, and ought, under the general form, to make a particular mental confession of his own personal sins, known only to God and his own conscience.

The general Confession, which is a regular and methodical composition, may be divided into two parts.

1. A confession, in the strict and proper sense of the term, which is followed

2. By earnest petitions, containing deprecations of evil, and supplications for spiritual blessings.

Before we enter upon the first part of the confession, we shall here particularly notice, once for all, a beauty and propriety, which, in our admirable Liturgy, we may every where observe. I mean the extreme care of the church in framing introductions to her prayers and collects. In all her addresses to the Deity, she has, it may almost be said, uniformly selected such titles, attributes and perfections, as are most appropriate to the petitions to which they are prefixed, and best calculated to produce correspondent affections in the

“generals, in its applications for God’s grace and protection; and
“instance these expressions, *that we may do God’s will, that we may be
“kept from all evil; &c.* Now these are almost the very terms in
“the Lord’s Prayer: so that they must reform *that*, before they can
“pretend to amend our Liturgy in these petitions.” See Papers that
passed between the Commissioners at the Savoy Conference.

minds

minds of those that use them. Whoever, with an eye to this point, will examine the prayers, and collects, throughout all our different offices, will be highly gratified, and convinced of the general truth of the remark. As an elucidation of the position, we take the introduction to the general confession, merely on account of its standing in the front of the Liturgy.

In this prayer we humbly confess our manifold sins to the God, whom we have offended, and supplicate his pardon. In the introductory part of the prayer, we address God, under the appellation of *Almighty and most merciful Father*.

The first title, *Almighty*, denotes the greatness of him, whom we have offended,--his Omnipotence and absolute dominion over all his creatures. Now the reflection that we have deliberately, and presumptuously offended that Being, from whose power there is no escaping, from whose wrath nothing can deliver us, must fill our hearts with terror and dismay.

But though we have offended a terrible and Almighty God, the second term, *most merciful Father*, reminds us, that he still retains the affections, as well as the name of a Father. Of all fathers he is the most merciful. His Omnipotence will teach us humility, and contrition. His infinite goodness will inspire faith and hope. If the terrors of the Almighty affright us, and seal up our lips, the contemplation of his mercy, and paternal pity, will open them again; and the united

ted sense of these two perfections, will dispose us to make a sincere confession, and prevailing supplication at the throne of grace.

In the first clause of the confession, the church describes our notorious violation of the divine law, under the figurative language dictated in holy Scripture by the spirit of God.

We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep.

This expression is taken from Scripture. Christ Jesus is “the Shepherd, and we the sheep of his pasture;” but “all we, like sheep, have gone astray. We have gone astray, like lost sheep, and have turned every one to his own way. Lord, seek thy servants.” (Isa. LIII. 6, Psal. CXIX. 176.) To understand the propriety of the phrase, it should be observed, that in the eastern countries, which are open, and full of wild beasts, the danger of straying is great, and its consequences too commonly fatal. Such “a great and terrible wilderness,” in the spiritual sense, is the world in which we live *.

By this one significant metaphor † our manifold devia-

* Here, and in a few other places, I have enriched this edition with the valuable observations of Archbishop Secker.

† In Judea, and other eastern countries, where flocks and herds constituted the riches, and the feeding of them, the chief employment, of the principal inhabitants, practices prevailed, very different

deviations from the paths in which God has commanded us to walk, and our consequent misery and wretchedness are most beautifully described.

1. Of all gregarious animals the sheep is most apt to stray. 2. When it does stray, none is exposed to greater dangers. 3. And if it does not become the prey of its numerous enemies, none is less likely to return. 4. The probability is, that it would stray for ever and finally be lost, did not the shepherd seek it and bring it back.

1. And how often have we, inobedient of the shepherd's steps and regardless of his voice, forsaken the pure streams and pleasant pastures, provided for us, and wandered into a dry and barren wilderness, where we have been left destitute of all true comfort and exposed to innumerable dangers. 2. Sinful man, having once departed from the shepherd of his soul, becomes entangled in the thorns of worldly pleasures and worldly cares; is ensnared by Satan, seduced by the wicked, and pursued by his own conscience. He has neither strength to contend with his enemies, nor power

rent from aught that we have been accustomed to see. Instead of a keeper following the sheep, and the barbarous usage of employing dogs on all occasions to drive them, (for the use of dogs in Judea, was to defend the flocks from the wild beasts of the forest, and the field, and to give notice of their approach,) the shepherd himself walked before the sheep, whether he led them to pasture, water, or the fold. Isa. LVI. 9, 10, 11. The shepherd's going before the sheep, and leading them to pure waters, and verdant pastures, is a very striking and beautiful representation of God's preventing grace, and continual help.

to fly from them. 3. Forgetting whence he is fallen, and ignorant how to return, he is lost for ever; And, 4. will continue wandering in the broad way that terminates in final destruction, except through God's preventing grace, he turn, by confession and repentance, to him, who came to seek and save what was lost, to Jesus Christ, the good shepherd, who laid down his life for the sheep.

We have followed, &c.

Here the Church reminds us, that even in our confession we must ascribe glory to God, and take the shame of our transgressions to ourselves. The corrupt inclination of our nature, and "the desire of the flesh,"* may entice, but they cannot compel men to sin. We do not throw the blame of our sins on the frailty of nature, the strength of passion, or the violence of temptation; for this were making God the author of that sin of which he is only the avenger.†

Neither do we accuse our maker for giving, nor repine at having, these devices and desires, but we condemn ourselves for "following them too much." What we confess and bewail is, that, instead of regulating our imaginations, keeping our hearts with all diligence, and applying for the assistance of God's holy Spirit, we have fol-

* See 9th Article of Religion.

† Deus non est eorum ultor, quorum est auctor. *Fulgent.*

lowed the corrupt inclination of our nature, run into the arms of temptation, made a covenant with sin, and thus have most notoriously transgressed God's laws, which are holy, just, and good.

Having with deep contrition acknowledged our sinfulness in general, we proceed to be more particular, and divide our offences into two kinds.

We have left undone, &c., and we have done, &c.

Here we confess that we have neglected positive duties, and have committed actual offences. These by divines have been denominated, sins of *omission*, and sins of *commission*.

Under the former head may be classed the duties of prayer, praise and thanksgiving; hearing and reading God's holy word, and frequenting the Lord's table; with the Christian social virtues of instructing the ignorant, relieving the distressed, comforting the afflicted, loving and doing good to all men; and the evangelical graces of faith, repentance, humility, and patience.

Among the sins of *commission* may be ranked, blasphemy, perjury, and prophaneness; lying, and slandering; pride, malice, and revenge; gluttony, drunkenness, and lust; covetousness and oppression; with every species of fraud and deceit, whether in deed or word*.

* For particular heads of self-examination in private, and public mental confession, reference may be had to the new whole Duty of Man, the Companion to the Altar; and Nelson's Festivals and Fasts towards the conclusion, &c.

If we have omitted any of these duties, or performed them improperly ; if we have committed many of these offences, or lived in the habitual practice of committing the least of them, we must confess them, and repent of them. “ The gates
“ of heaven are shut against all unexpiated sin
“ under every form and in every degree *.”

Having thus confessed our iniquities, we acknowledge, that

There is no health in us.

In the language of scripture, the diseases of the body represent the distempers of the soul. The humble penitent, having examined himself, and being sensible of his condition, confesses to the great physician, to him who alone can “ heal our souls,” (Ps. xli. 4.) his total want of health. He finds, that his whole head is sick with evil devices, and his whole heart faint with following evil desires, (Isa. i. 5, 6.) and that from the sole of the foot even to the crown of his head, there is no health, nor soundness in him. Wounds and bruises distract his conscience, and putrifying sores, arising from internal corruption, overspread his whole frame.

The words likewise imply, that we have no means of help and salvation. We have no power of ourselves to help ourselves, and “ no man may

* See the Bishop of London's two excellent Sermons on James ii. 10.

“deliver his brother.” (Ps. XLIX. 7.) In vain do we look for help, “to the hills and mountains,” to the high and mighty. (Jer. III. 23.) “*Salvation is of the Lord.*” (Ps. III. 8.) To the Lord our God we therefore turn with weeping and supplications, and, in the remaining part of the confession, make our petitions to him for help and deliverance.

Do thou, O Lord, have mercy, &c.

As *miserable offenders*, we beseech him to “have mercy upon us,” to pity us, and pardon our sins. Misery is the proper object of mercy, and forgiveness peculiarly belongs to God.

Spare thou them, O God, &c.

Having confessed our faults, we entreat him to spare, and deliver us from the punishment due to them. We pray God not to inflict those temporal evils, which our iniquities have deserved, and above all to rescue us from eternal condemnation.

Restore thou them, &c.

Being penitent we desire him to “restore* to

* In Scripture, the word, here, and oftentimes, translated restore, is occasionally applied to the repairing and rebuilding of a ruinous and depopulated city;—too true an emblem of the deplorable state of the soul, laid waste by sin; its beauty defaced, its strength dismantled, and its fair inhabitants, innocence and virtue, turned out of their sacred mansions.—See Daniel’s famous prediction of the Messiah, couched under the figurative language of restoring and rebuilding Jerusalem. Dan. ix. 25.

“ us the joy of his salvation,” (Ps. LI. 12.) to readmit us to his favour, which we have lost by our disobedience ; we beseech him “ to heal our “ wounds, and to restore us to that health,” (Jer. xxx. 17.) and spiritual vigour, which we have destroyed by following the devices and desires of our own hearts.

According to thy promises, &c.

These requests we are emboldened to make, in consequence of God’s gracious promises revealed in the Gospel, which declare, that if we confess our sins, and repent of them, we shall be spared, forgiven, and restored.

We say, “ declared unto MANKIND in Christ “ Jesus, our Lord.” For these promises were not made to the apostate angels, but to mankind alone.

Angels* are intelligent substances, the first in
rank

* Reason, as well as Scripture, affords us ground to believe, that *Man* is the lowest creature in the scale of reasonable beings. As the chain of being descends from man to brute, from brute to insect, so it is reasonable to suppose, that by a beautiful gradation it ascends from angel to arch-angel, and those thousand thousands that stand before God, and those ten thousand times ten thousand, that minister unto him. That among the angels there are degrees, is an opinion, which appears warranted by Scripture. Speculative men have reduced them into nine orders, according to the different names, by which the angels in scripture are denominated. And these nine orders they divide into three Hierarchies. To the first and highest order belong Cherubim, Seraphim, and Thrones. To

rank and dignity among created beings; and endowed with understanding and power far superior to those of human nature. Though they were all created perfect, yet some of them “kept not their first estate.” They fell*, and from the most

the second, Dominions, Virtues, and Powers. To the third, Principalities, Arch-angels, and Angels.

As to their nature, whether they are pure Spirit, divested of Matter, or united to some thin Body, some corporeal vehicle, has long been a subject of controversy. The ancient philosophers, and some of the Christian fathers, were of opinion, that Angels were cloathed with ethereal fiery bodies, bodies of the same nature with those we shall one day have, when we come to be equal to the angels. The more general opinion, especially of latter times, has been, that they are substances entirely spiritual, possessing the power of assuming visible bodies, and appearing in human forms and other shapes.

* *Pride* appears to have been their leading sin and the cause of their fall. On what occasion it shewed itself is uncertain. It has been presumed, that admiring and valuing themselves too much on the excellence of their nature and height of their station, they came at length to entertain so little respect for their and our Creator, as to be guilty of direct apostacy and open rebellion.—From Scripture it is farther certain, that the number of the fallen angels is very great, and it seems to appear, that order and subordination are preserved even among *them*. According to the Jews, their prince is Beelzebub, or Baal-zebub, which signifies the Master of Flies. But their proper head is the Devil or Satan: the former of these names signifies the *Accuser*, and the latter *Hater*, or *Adversary*. Whether the Devil was himself a fallen Angel and the grand Apostate by whom the others were seduced from allegiance; or whether he was originally created EVIL for the purpose of more fully displaying the divine attributes on the theatre of the Universe, some have entertained a doubt. Milton in his *Paradise Lost* has assumed the former proposition as the basis of his poem. But this being
a work

most blessed and glorious, became the most vile and miserable of all God's creatures. As they fell, so they lie, "being reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the Day of Judgment," (Jude vi.) when they will be consigned unto the fire originally "prepared for the Devil and his Angels." (Matt. xxv. 41.) "Our redeemer taketh not hold of the (fallen) angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold *." Towards mankind has God stretched forth his hand, and laid hold of them, and rescued, and delivered them.

From the universality of the promise, ALL men, because they are men, even the chief of sinners, if they repent, may receive comfort and consolation. But let none arrogate to himself, or his sect, any peculiar interest, in the promises made through Jesus Christ. If any private individual, or particular society imagine, that they have any

a work of human invention, and calculated rather to amuse the fancy than to afford any solid ground for belief, we should be careful how far we admit the opinions of such a writer for evangelical truths.—"Secret things belong to God; but those that are revealed to us and our children." Deut. xxix. 29.

* Marginal reading of Hebrews 16.—See also *Cameron*, *Grotius*, and *Hammond*.—The following is the observation of a learned friend: Much has been said, and disputed, upon the ἐπιλαμβάνεται of Heb. xi. 16. But after all, I think, our present public version, and not the marginal reading, expresses the true meaning of the text. Σπέρμα signifies *nature* as well as *seed*: and is here relative to ἀγγέλων as well as to Ἀβραάμ. I therefore can see no reason, but a Socinian reason, to depart from the common translation.

special interest in the redeemer's merits, or God's promises, I scruple not to pronounce, that the suggestion is the delusion of the Devil, and betrays a *kind* of spiritual pride, which the grand Apostate himself could never surpass. As men and Christians, we are thankful, that we are not particularly excluded. We humbly hope that the general promise made to all, will eventually extend to us. To ourselves we modestly apply it, not because we fancy, that we are favourites of heaven, or better than others, but because we know, that we have offended, feel that we are miserable, and are certain, that none can more stand in need of mercy than ourselves.

In Christ Jesus, our Lord.

In this clause the church has directed us to express our faith, and plead the promises through Christ. As true repentance can originate only from a right belief, so a right belief must necessarily produce acceptable repentance*; and these two, which the revealed word of "God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." In the promises we trust, because they are made in Christ Jesus our Lord, who obtained them for us, and sealed them by his blood, being appointed the mediator between God and man. He was the first, and greatest promise, made to mankind in the seed of the woman, (Gen. III. 15.) and God

* ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ ἡ ΜΕΤΑΝΟΙΑ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΚΑΤΟΡΘΩΜΑ. *Clem. Al.*

who

who has given us him, and delivered him up for us all, will in his due time accomplish the rest. (Rom. viii. 32.)

The Confession concludes with a petition for grace to amend our lives, which we offer up through the merits and mediation of our redeemer.

And grant that we may hereafter, &c.

St. Paul sums up the whole of practical Christianity in “living soberly, righteously, and godly, “in this present world;” (Tit. ii. 12.) and this comprehensive expression, which includes all the duties we owe to God, our neighbour, and ourselves, the church has wisely adopted in this part of her Liturgy. Her sense could not have been conveyed, in stronger, or in plainer terms. Let us remember, that we should not only ardently pray, but earnestly endeavour, to exercise piety and devotion towards God; to practise honesty, fidelity and charity to our fellow-creatures; and to govern ourselves, our souls and bodies, with humility, moderation, and Christian sobriety.

In the concluding words,

To the glory of thy holy name,
the church reminds us that the advancement of God’s honor and glory, should be the constant aim, and ultimate end of all our actions. We should live godly, soberly, and righteously, not for our own credit, nor to obtain the approbation of men, but to promote the honor and glory of God’s holy name. And when we have done all, we must

in gratitude cast that all at the feet of *his* glory, by whose long suffering, mercy, grace, and assistance, we are spared, forgiven, restored, and enabled “to amend our lives according to his holy word.”

To evince the earnestness of our petitions, our faith in the promises, and our hope of acceptance; to testify at the same time, that we have one Lord, one Faith, and one Hope, with one voice and one mouth at the end of the Confession, we sum up all, in one audible, hearty, devout AMEN.

ON AMEN*.

AMEN is originally an Hebrew term, in which language, with its numerous derivatives, it signifies truth, fidelity, stability. By our Saviour it is often repeated as a strong affirmation, and is translated *verily, verily*.

Amen, in our Liturgy, is addressed sometimes to God and sometimes to men. Here and after

* AMEN is one of the few words that have been constantly retained without translation into the popular language, by all Christian churches to this day. Many churches have likewise uniformly preserved *Alleluiah* and *Hosannah*, as we have done in our translation of the Scripture. In these words some think they observe more energy than in any terms their own languages afford. But the church of England, in her Liturgy has ventured to translate *Alleluiah* into “Praise ye the Lord;” and *Hosannah*, with some small variation, she has rendered, “O God, make speed to save us.”

all the prayers, it is adressed to God, and, according to our catechism, means *so be it*. It is itself a prayer, and may be thus paraphrased. “ Confirm to us, O Lord, realize, and verify all the blessings, and benefits that we have prayed for.”

But after a Creed, it is a solemn asseveration made in the presence of the whole congregation, declaring an unfeigned belief of every article therein expressed. Here it is equivalent to verily or truly, and may be paraphrased, “ True and sincere is the confession of faith that we have now made.”

It has the same import, when pronounced after the sentences from Scripture, which are read in the *Communion* on the first day of Lent. In that solemn penitential office, (the object of which, some, calling themselves Christians, have shamefully misrepresented, and others of our own communion appear not sufficiently to understand,) the church has assigned the reasons, for which these sentences are recited, and has likewise defined the meaning of Amen.

Till penitentiary discipline, universally practised in the antient church, may be restored to the church of England, the preface informs us, it is thought good, that, at certain seasons, some general sentences, containing God’s denunciation against impenitent sinners, should be read to us, and that we should answer to every sentence
Amen:

Amen* : to the intent, that being admonished of the great indignation of God against sinners, we may be moved to true repentance, to walk warily, and to flee from those vices, for which (by answering Amen) *we affirm with our own mouths* the curse of God to be due †.

From St. Paul we learn, that in the apostolic age the people “said Amen at the blessing and “giving of thanks,” (1 Cor. xiv. 16.) and the Fathers testify that the practice was continued in succeeding ages ‡. We farther find that the primitive Christians, who on certain days, (especially on Sundays, and on all days between Easter and Pentecost §,) performed their adorations standing, usually pronounced Amen with a loud voice.

In allusion to both of these customs, Clement of Alexandria says “at the concluding acclamation of the prayer, (meaning at Amen) they “raised themselves upon their tip-toes, endeavouring as it were to lift up their bodies as

* This is evidently derived from Deut. xxvii.

† See *Communion* in our Liturgy.

‡ That Amen was said at the Consecration of the *Eucharist*, Irenæus and Tertullian, two of the most ancient Christian writers, prove. (Iren. lib. i. c. i. Tert. de Spect. c. 25. on which see Rigalt's Notes.)—This primitive custom appears to have been apostolical. Compare this passage (1. Cor. xiv. 16.) with 1. Cor. x. 16, and see Grot. on Matt. xxvi. 26.

§ This was done in honor of our Lord's Resurrection.

“ well

“ well as their souls, to heaven*.” The practice of uttering Amen after prayers and praises, with loud and united voices, gave occasion to the verse,

Et resonaturis ferit æthera vocibus AMEN.

Jerom informs us, that at Rome, in his time, the people answered *Amen* with a voice so loud that it resembled a peal of thunder†; and the Jews had a proverbial saying, that the gate of the garden of Eden is opened to him who answers *Amen* with all his might ‡.

It may not be proper to recommend to modern Christians too close an imitation of these examples, but hence we may take occasion to observe, that Amen should be solemnly pronounced by the whole congregation with a distinct and audible voice.

* Strom. 7.

† Ad similitudinem cœlestes tonitruī AMEN reboat.

‡ The Jews who answered Amen at the end of each prayer, thus describe its efficacy :— Præstantior censetur ille, amplioremque dignitatis gradum adipiscitur, qui cum attentione et religione Amen respondet, quàm is qui preces concipit. (*Talmud.*) Similitudine, id illustrent sapientes, Scribæ, qui alterius nomine literas scribat, quas postea is, cujus nomine scriptæ sunt, signo suo consignet : tum demum enim literæ illæ confirmantur, auctoritatem acquirunt, et observantur : Sic etiam, qui Amen ad preces respondent, precibus figillum imprimunt, quæ hâc ratione vires acquirunt. *Buxt. Syn. Jud.*

RUBRIC

RUBRIC

BEFORE THE ABSOLUTION.

By this Rubric, the Absolution, or Remission of sins, is directed to be pronounced by the priest alone. The meaning of which words I apprehend to be, that no Layman or Deacon, none under the order of a priest, shall, either in the private exercise of piety, or in the public service of the church, repeat the Absolution.

That it should not be read by a Layman, is a position, which requires no proof. And I mention it here, principally for the sake of noticing more particularly, what was observed before, that the Morning and Evening Prayer, in the original designation of our reformers, was not meant to be said in churches only, but was likewise appointed for the service of God, in places not set apart for public worship, and was intended for the use of individuals, and private families*.

From the *Royal Injunctions*, prefixed to the old English Primers, which were principally composed of the services of the church, and which we must regard, as so many auspicious preludes to

* The pious practice of reading daily a portion of the Holy Scriptures, and a part of the Morning and Evening Offices, which was very general with our Protestant forefathers, some families laudably retain.

our Book of Common Prayer, it appears, that they were intended to be aids in private devotion, and guides in the performance of family worship; and not merely elementary tracts for the instruction of children, in the rudiments of letters and religion*. Accordingly, the preface to Edwards' second Book of Common Prayer, evidently presumes, that the Morning and Evening Services were used, not only in family worship, but also by individuals, in their private devotions †. That on these occasions, none of the Laity might ignorantly, and irreverently, rush into what is more

* See the various Primers, published in the reign of Henry VIII. They were commonly Printed in Latin on one side of the page, and English on the other. One, of 1543, is entitled "A right Godly Rule how all Christians ought to occupy and exercise themselves in the Use of their daily Prayers." In another. "The King's Command willeth all his loving subjects to learn and use the same." The injunctions prefixed to one of 1546 state, that the Primers were "set forth to be used of the elder people, as well as of the youth, for their *common, and ordinary Prayer.*"

† The original Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, beginning, *There was never any thing by the wit of man so well devised*, is universally retained in all larger legitimate Editions, and in many of the smaller. By the reviewers of 1661, it was entitled *Concerning the Service of the Church*, and placed after their Preface, beginning, "It hath been the wisdom, &c.," which was most probably composed by Bp. Sanderson. The conclusion of the ancient Preface, which is now commonly divided into three paragraphs, and distinguished by inverted commas, was added at the revision of Edwards' Book. The first of these paragraphs permits "Men the use of any language they *understand*, when they say Morning and Evening Prayer *privately.*" See also the second paragraph.

pecu-

peculiarly the office of the priest, the church ordained, that the Absolution should be pronounced by the priest alone.

That it must not be read in the congregation by a deacon, is a part of my argument, which will not be so readily granted. For of all the questions relative to Common Prayer, that have been discussed, among the members of our establishment, few, I apprehend, have been more frequently agitated, and none more commonly left undecided, than this,--Is it lawful and right for a Deacon to read the Absolution?

On the affirmative side of the question, stand the authority, and the arguments of Dr. Bennet, who has advanced nearly all, that has since been brought forward in favour of the practice. He thinks "that a mere Deacon has as much authority to pronounce this form, as he has to say the first of the sentences in the Morning Prayer, *When the wicked man, &c.*, or to preach a sermon about repentance;" and concludes "it to be a vulgar mistake, which makes the Deacons deviate from their rule, and omit the form, or exchange it for a collect."

Of the impropriety of introducing a collect, we shall speak, after we have inquired at whose door the mistake lies, and seen whether Deacons do deviate from their rule, by omitting the Absolution.

Every one, I conceive, must admit, that the
church

church of England allows Deacons, in some instances, to pronounce Absolution.-- They have
“ authority to read Homilies in the church, to
“ read the Gospel, and to preach the same, if
“ they are licensed thereto by the Bishop: and in
“ the absence of the priest they may baptize*.”

Now by baptizing and preaching the Gospel, they may, in the most strict and proper sense of the words, be said to administer Absolution. In both cases however their authority is limited. “ They may baptize,” but only “ in the absence
“ of the priest.”--They may not preach the Gospel, except “ they be admitted and licensed
“ thereto by the Bishop himself †.”

Here the rulers of our church have directed
“ the Absolution, or remission of sins, to be pronounced by the priest alone.” Had we no other guide, besides the words of the Rubric, to direct us, the intention of the church would be extremely questionable. In such a case, as the word *priest* in the Rubrics often means no more than the officiating minister, and as there is nothing in this form, which a Deacon may not pronounce, one might be disposed to subscribe to the opinion of Dr. Bennet, and conclude that a Deacon may read this Absolution.

But the church has explained her meaning without ambiguity, and beyond the possibility of doubt. By the statute, enacted in conformity to the opi-

* Form for ordering Deacons, † Ordination Office.

nion of the Episcopalian commissioners, appointed in 1661, to review the Liturgy, every Deacon is expressly forbidden to pronounce the Absolution: a circumstance which appears to have escaped the observation of the author of the Paraphrase, and to be unknown to the Deacons, who pursue the practice he recommends.

At this review the Presbyterian divines request that “whereas the word Minister, and not Priest” or Curate, stands in the Rubric for the Absolution*, and divers other places, this usage “may be continued.”---To this proposal the church of England commissioners reply, that “It is not reasonable the word *minister* only should

* The position laid down by the Presbyterians, though apparently admitted by the Episcopalian divines, is not strictly true. Wheatley indeed has told us, “that in all the books till the restoration of Charles the word in the Rubric was *minister*, and not *priest*.” (P. 124, Sixth Edition.) But when Mr. Wheatley does not copy from preceding writers, we cannot depend upon his authority. L’Estrange, who was commonly under Wheatley’s eye, has said, that the word *priest* was here changed into *minister* by James’s reviewers. (Alliance of Divine Offices. Annotation, c. 111.) I suspect this to be an accidental error, and that L’Estrange meant exactly the reverse; for the word *minister* stands here in Elizabeth’s books. In L’Estrange’s own Text, in Bp. Sparrow’s *Rationale*, both of which were published before the last review, and in the greater part of the books printed in the reigns of James and Charles, that have fallen under my inspection, the word is *priest*, and not *minister*. I think the declaration of the Presbyterian divines reconcileable with these facts, only on the supposition that they disregarded the changes made in the reigns of James and Charles, and referred to the book of Elizabeth, which was established by law.

“ be

“ be used in the Common Prayer. For since some
“ parts of the Liturgy may be performed by a
“ Deacon; and others, such as Absolution and
“ Consecration*, by none under the order of a
“ priest, it is fit, that some such word as priest
“ should be used for those offices which are ap-
“ propriated to his character, the word minister
“ being of too loose and lax a signification for this
“ pur-

* Deacons were ranked among the “ sacred orders” of the primitive church; and speaking in general terms, we may, without any great violation of propriety, call their office in the church of England, an inferior degree of priesthood. It is true, that their ministerial authority, as well as their personal influence, subject, in a considerable degree, to the change of opinion, time and circumstance, has not, in all churches and ages, uniformly been the same.—In the delegation of ministerial power to her Deacons, the church of England has exercised that “ wisdom and moderation” for which she is eminently conspicuous, and in her Form of Ordination has well defined the duty “ that appertaineth to the office of a
“ Deacon.”

1. In the ancient church we find that Deacons have presumed in ordinary cases to administer the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, that is, “ to perform Consecration,” or consecrate the elements; for “ to assist the bishop or priest in the distribution of the bread
“ and wine” peculiarly appertains to their office. (*Morin. de Sac. Pœnit. Lib. viii. c. 24. and Bingham Eccl. Antiq. Lib. ii. c. 20.*)
—The decrees of the council of York (A. D. 1194,) authorise the practice in cases of emergency. The innovation in the former instance, which no where became general, the rulers of the church speedily suppressed: and if throughout England, the latter practice was continued for a length of time, it was by the reformation completely abolished. In our church “ Consecration can be performed
“ by none under the order of a priest.”

“ purpose *.”---Accordingly the word priest, in the strict meaning of the term, and in contradistinction to the word Deacon, was retained † in the Rubric ; and the sense of the church commissioners, ascertained through the objection of the Presbyterian divines, was ratified by Parliament.

2. In the Western church, Deacons were, under peculiar circumstances, empowered to administer Absolution. If the practice did not originate with Cyprian, it was sanctioned by him, when Bishop of Carthage ; it is mentioned by various writers, and prevailed for many centuries. But it nowhere appears, as the learned Morinus has observed, that this power was given to Deacons in the Greek church. Our reformers, in this instance, conform to the regulations of the Greek church, and enjoin “ the Absolution “ or remission of sins to be pronounced by the priest alone.”

3. The power “ to baptize, in cases of necessity,” was much more generally given to Deacons by those churches, which doubted, or denied their official authority to baptize on ordinary occasions. Thus in our own country the celebrated councils of York (mentioned before) and of London (held A. D. 1200) which here speak the general sense of the Western church, ordain, that, “ when the *infant* “ is dangerously ill,” (*mors imminet puero*) “ and the priest absent, “ the Deacon may baptize him.”

But Tertullian (*de Baptismo*, c. 17.) and Jerom, (*Adv. Luciferianos*, c. 4.) the latter of whom was little disposed to allow Deacons the unmolested exercise of powers that did not strictly “ appertain to their office ;” (See his invectives against their usurpations, *Ep. lxxxv. ad Euag.*) both maintain, that a Deacon may, in all cases, baptize, as well as a priest. The church of England has decreed, that “ it is the Deacon’s office to baptize, in the absence of “ the priest.”—

* Eleventh Exception of the Presbyterian Divines, and the answer of the church commissioners at the Savoy Conference.

† It had stood in many copies above fifty years.

The

The simple statement of the fact amounts to something more than a complete refutation of the arguments of Dr. Bennet. It is a final decision of the dispute, made by the highest authority in these realms.

Were farther proof wanting, that according to the existing regulations of the church of England, a Deacon may not read the Absolution, the ecclesiastical commissioners appointed in 1691 to revise the Liturgy, have furnished us with one full to the purpose. They knew, that as matters then stood, none but a priest could lawfully read the Absolution, and, therefore, among other alterations, they proposed, that a Rubric should be made authorising a Deacon to read it*. Their proposed alterations, it is well known, were never carried into effect, and the whole of the project was entirely abandoned. Of course the law empowering a priest alone to pronounce the Absolution, remains unaltered, and in full force.

Dr. Bennet modestly declares, that he is far from desiring any person to be determined by him, and refers the Deacons to their respective ordinaries, whose directions in disputable matters, he

* They likewise proposed "that these words *and remission* be put out of the Rubric, as not *very intelligible*." *Birch's Life of Tillotson*. The reason is somewhat curious. In the Liturgy of the Episcopalian church of America, the Rubric before the Absolution runs thus, *A Declaration, concerning the Forgiveness of Sins, to be made, &c.*

justly observes, are the best rule of conscience. But I would ask, do the proofs, that have been alledged, leave the point disputable? Have the Bishops in this instance any discretionary or dispensing power? For the resolution of doubts, and the prevention of diversity of practice, we are directed to consult our ordinaries. On account of their superior experience, knowledge, and discretion, and more especially in consequence of their station, as the spiritual guides and rulers of the church, they are wisely invested, in doubtful cases, with a decretory and definitive power*. But this power is definite, and the exercise of it limited. The Bishops have neither authority nor inclination, to licence a clergyman in the performance of the offices prescribed by the church, to act contrary to any thing "contained" and expressly declared "in the book of Common Prayer."

What course then is an officiating Deacon to pursue, when he comes to the Absolution? "He

* For the resolution of all doubts, concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in this book, the parties shall resort to the Bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same; so that the same order be not contrary to any thing contained in this book.

Concerning the Service of the Church. The propriety and necessity of lodging such powers in the hands of our spiritual superiors, was so evident to Jerom, that, without such regulations, he scruples not to say, we should soon have in the church, *tot schismata quot sacerdotes.*—*Adv. Lucifer.*

"is,"

“ is,” says a modern commentator on the Liturgy*; “ to offer up some short prayer in its stead.” Instead of a naked assertion, we should have been obliged to this writer for favouring us with something like the grounds on which his opinion is founded.

If a Deacon, a person of the lowest *order* in the church, and one, who is not expected to possess any very considerable degree of ritual knowledge, is at liberty, without any lawful provision, expressed or implied, to alter the service here, and to introduce whatever prayer his private judgment may suggest †, what is the use of an “ act for uniformity ?” If the prescribed form of Common Prayer may be altered in one instance, who does not see that it may, by different persons, be violated in all ?

The subject naturally leads me to mark another irregularity, which the friends of the church will hear, if not with indignation, yet certainly with regret. In some places, even within the metro-

* *P. Waldo, Esq.*—This gentleman has published a valuable Tract on the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, which has been taken into the list of books, dispersed by the *Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, and is sold by Messrs. Rivington.

† The prayer that is commonly used by Deacons, is taken from the conclusion of the Communion. But if any were admissible, it is evident, I think, that the preference ought to be given to *the prayer which may be said after any of the former*, and in correct copies stands before the prayer for parliament. It may with peculiar propriety be called a *precatory Absolution*.

polis, when a charity sermon is to be preached, the appointed lessons are omitted, and others are substituted, which the officiating minister fancies to be better adapted to the occasion.

The collect for the Sunday before Lent has likewise often been added to the ordinary service. But this collect is misapplied, probably because it is misunderstood. Charity, the most beautiful and lovely of the Christian virtues, is not confined to liberality to the indigent, or relief to the distressed. Though we do more than “give all our goods to feed the poor,” yet we may be destitute of charity. Our hearts may still be devoid of love to God, and love to man, and then all our faith, hope, and almsgiving will “profit us nothing.”—What is yet more surprising, clergymen, in other respects men of judgment and discretion, have been known seriously to undertake the defence of this manifest impropriety.

Of these irregularities our spiritual rulers must disapprove, and their practice ought to deter every clergyman from attempting such innovations. They do not think themselves at liberty to make the slightest deviation from the established form of worship. Was it ever known, that at an Episcopal visitation, where the clergy compose a principal part of the audience, the smallest alteration took place in the performance of the daily service?—At the anniversary of one of the most conspicuous

spicuous charitable institutions* in this kingdom, which the two archbishops, the bishops, and many of the dignified clergy think it their duty to attend, the ordinary collects and lessons are invariably read. In a word all wilful deviation from the service appointed is indecent, irregular, illegal, and amounts to little less than a direct violation of ordination vows.

If a Deacon is neither to read the Absolution, nor to substitute a prayer in its room, what is he to do? The rule is plain, and leaves him no alternative. After the Confession he is to remain kneeling, and to proceed to the Lord's Prayer. This always appeared to me to be the necessary, and only conclusion, to be drawn from the premises. Suspecting, however the validity of my own arguments, I requested the opinion of a respectable divine, for whose modesty I have such regard, that I dare describe him only as having been for many years the confidential and intimate friend of Bp. Lowth. By his judgment the opinion already given was sanctioned and confirmed. In consequence of farther inquiry I have since learned that the heads of a cathedral church, lately recommended the same practice. It is the business of *priest vicars*, I understand in some cathedrals, to read Morning and Evening Prayer: and it *once* happened, that a Deacon was appointed a priest

* Feast of the Sons of the Clergy, celebrated at St. Paul's.

vicar. When it came to his turn to officiate, he was directed to “omit the Absolution, and after the Confession to say the Lord’s Prayer.”

Another sense of the words *priest alone*, is that when the Absolution is read, the people are not to repeat, nor mutter it after the minister. It is an authoritative address made by him to them; a declaration of God’s will, pronounced by his messenger, to which it is the duty of the people to listen with reverence.

The priest is required to pronounce the Absolution *standing*, because standing is the attitude in which a person speaking generally addresses an assembly, and because this declaration of Absolution is an act of sacerdotal authority. The people are to continue *kneeling*, in token of the humility, with which they ought to receive the joyful tidings of pardon, and Absolution from Almighty God, pronounced by the mouth of his minister.

THE ABSOLUTION, OR REMISSION OF SINS.

The doctrine of Absolution*, as it is delivered in the sacred records of the New Testament, and the

* Absolution; is derived from the Latin word *absolvo*, which, in its

the writings of the primitive fathers, is a subject of difficult elucidation; and to treat of it at large would lead into a field of dissertation too wide to be entered upon here. I shall therefore at present, confine my remarks to that particular form of Absolution, which occurs in the order for daily prayer*.

The propriety of introducing the Absolution in this part of our daily service is acknowledged without reserve by Calvin, whose immense learning, and extraordinary abilities, no one will dispute. This distinguished instrument of the reformation, who was not remarkable for his partiality to the reform made in England†, delivers here the opinion of his colleagues, as well as his own. “We are every one of us,” says Calvin‡, “ready

its primitive signification, is to loose, to untie; the Absolution, or Remission of Sins, being an act, similar to that of loosing a chain, or untying a cord, with which a person or thing is tied and bound.

* A fuller account of Absolution will be found at the end of the volume.

† He says the English Liturgy, meaning Edward’s, contains some fooleries not absolutely intolerable, (*tolerabiles ineptias*.)

‡ *Confessioni publicæ adjungere insignem aliquam promissionem, quæ peccatores ad spem veniæ et reconciliationis, erigat, nemo nostrum est qui non agnoscat utilissimum esse. Atque ab initio hunc morem inducere volui: sed quum offensionem quidam ex novitate metuerent, nimium facilis fui ad cedendum—Ita res omissa est—Nunc verò non esset opportunum hic quicquam mutare; quia, antequam ad finem confessionis ventum fuerit, magna pars incipit surgere. Quò magis optamus, dum vobis integrum est, populum vestrum*

“ dy to admit that after a general confession, to
 “ subjoin some signal promise, which may excite
 “ hope of pardon and reconciliation, is a very use-
 “ ful and beneficial practice—And from the very
 “ beginning, I was desirous of adopting this me-
 “ thod, but I yielded too easily to the apprehen-
 “ sions of others *.”

The want of a form of Absolution in a Liturgy, which Calvin regrets, is certainly a defect. It is a defect however, which may, in a considerable degree be supplied by reading and expounding the Scriptures, and by preaching. For preaching, as well as Absolution, is a declaratory application of God's promises of pardon and forgiveness, and has, like it, been called, the Key of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The church of England places the Absolution, or Remission of Sins, immediately after the General Confession. The whole congregation having, agreeably to the directions given in the Exhortation, confessed their sins, with an humble, lowly,

ad utrumque assuefieri. Calv. Respon. de Eccl. Rit. p. 206, of the edition of Amsterdam, in 1668.

* Calvin's own account of his facility merits attention. In his character flexibility of disposition appears to be a lineament either so faint, or so obscured by more prominent features of a different cast, that it has generally escaped vulgar observation. His panegyrist, the learned translator of Mosheim's Eccl. Hist., describes him as surpassing most of the reformers “ in *Obstinacy, Asperity, and Turbulence,*”

penitent,

penitent, and obedient heart, and remaining depressed under the sense of their iniquities, are in a situation, that peculiarly requires the aid of spiritual consolation. Now therefore is the proper season, for the ambassador of Christ to exercise, “the ministry,” and to pronounce the “word of reconciliation, given and committed” to him. (2. Cor. v. 18, 19.) The priest therefore stands up, and in a solemn manner, pronounces to the people pardon and Absolution.

This Absolution consists of two parts.—1. A declaration of “pardon, and forgiveness of sins,” made by the minister of God to “all those who truly repent, and unfeignedly believe the Gospel.” 2. This is followed by an Exhortation, which directs, how Absolution may be obtained, and encourages us to apply for it, by exhibiting the inestimable benefits that attend it.

Upon the authority of Almighty God, who, avows himself the pardoner of iniquity, transgression, and sin, (Exod. xxxiv. 7.) and who, for the confirmation of our hope, has sworn by himself, that he desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may be converted and live, (Ezek. xxxiii. 11.) the minister of the Gospel pronounces this Absolution. The priests, as the messengers of Christ, are commanded to restore them that fall, (Gal. vi. 1.) to comfort the feeble minded, (1. Thess. v. 14.) and, under the similitude

tude of shepherds, are severely threatened, if through their neglect should perish any of “the
“ sheep of Christ, whom he bought with his death,
“ and for whom he shed his blood *.”

That no sinner may despair of mercy, or be discouraged from applying to God for forgiveness, the priest, by virtue of the commission, so often repeated in the Gospel, assures the congregation, that all penitent believers are loosed from the chains of their sins; that their guilt is absolved, and its punishment remitted.

The priest does not absolve in his own name. He simply promulgates the terms of pardon, granted by the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. That this may be misunderstood by none, is probably one reason, for which our form repeats the nominative case. “HE†,” that is, *Almighty God*, “pardoneth and absolveth all them that truly re-

* Ordination Office.

† In the mode of constructing this sentence, the compilers of our Liturgy appear to have imitated the plural or general Absolution of the old *Ordo Romanus*, which runs thus:—Dominus Jesus Christus, qui dignatus est discipulis suis dicere, quæcunque ligaveritis super terram——et quæcunque solveritis——: ipse vos absolvere dignetur.—This form is precatory, and ours declaratory: they differ in expression but in meaning they nearly agree. In both, we observe a long parenthesis, and a repetition of the preceding nominative case, implied in *ipse*, and *He*.—By a very small alteration in the words of our form, and none in the sense, the framers of the American Liturgy have improved the construction.—*Who*, near the beginning, is omitted, and the period ends with *Remission of Sins*. *He*, &c., of course, begins a new sentence.

“pent,

“pent, and unfeignedly believe his Holy Gospel.”

Should there in a mixed congregation be any hypocritical worshipper, whose faith is feigned, and whose confession, and penitence, are insincere, to him the Absolution gives no encouragement. It simply declares to him that there is forgiveness with God, and points out the terms on which it is granted. To those that truly repent, it conveys the strongest assurance of Remission of sins, and acceptance with God. To those that do not repent, it is an admonition that they should repent, if they desire to be pardoned and forgiven. Whilst it affords to the good, the greatest comfort and support, it gives the wicked no ground either to presume, or to despair. Being publickly pronounced to all, each individual is to take that portion, which peculiarly belongs to himself.

In the second part of the Absolution the minister proceeds to remind us of the means by which the blessings of pardon and reconciliation may be obtained. He exhorts us, to beseech God to grant us “true repentance,” repentance unto salvation, which He alone can give, and “his holy spirit,” to deliver us from all deadly sin, to help our infirmities, to invigorate our faith, to excite our hope, to purify our hearts, to engage our obedience, and more especially to assist us in the things
“that

“ that we do at this present,” the Oblation of our prayers and praises.

For our encouragement he adds that if we thus apply to God, and to our prayers join our own best endeavours, the result will be, 1. present acceptance, 2. future assistance, And 3. everlasting happiness. 1. “ Those things which we do at “ this present,” our Confession, Absolution, Prayers, Praises, Thanksgivings, and all the services we perform in the house of God, will be well pleasing in his sight. 2. Our lives hereafter, directed by the guidance of his holy spirit, will be pure from their former sins, and in all respects, virtuous and holy. And, 3. at the last, we shall receive the reward of our faith and obedience, “ his eternal joy,” through the merits of our blessed Redeemer, who by his precious death has purchased for us pardon, and Absolution from all our sins, is now a prevailing intercessor with the Father for the blessings we implore, and will at his return to judge the world receive us into those heavenly mansions, which he is gone before to prepare, for every true penitent and sincere believer.

The Rubric that follows the Absolution directs the people, here and at the end of all other prayers, to say Amen *. By answering Amen the people declare,

* In many of the old books, and in all the correcter editions of the present book, it is observable, that *Amen* is sometimes printed
in

declare, that the Absolution pronounced by the minister is verified and confirmed in heaven, and that they earnestly beseech God to grant them true repentance, and his holy spirit.

RUBRIC

in the same character with the form preceding, and sometimes in a character different from it. In modern editions after Confessions, Creeds, and the Lord's Prayer, in the different offices, it stands in the Roman character, and after absolutions, Collects, &c., in the Italic.—The distinction has been thus accounted for. “In the latter case the minister is to stop at the end of the prayer, and to leave the Amen to be said by the people: when it is printed in Roman letters, he is to pronounce Amen himself, and thus to direct the people to do the same.” (Wheatley.) But I suspect this was not the meaning of the church, for I can see no reason for the minister's pronouncing Amen at the end of the *Confession*, which has not an equal tendency to prove, that he should pronounce it after *every Collect and Prayer*. In the Confession, it may be argued, he acknowledges his *own offences*, as well as those of the people; and therefore should say Amen. Upon the same principle it may be replied, in the Prayers and Collects, he offers up his *own supplications*, as well as those of the People, and therefore should say Amen.

On this particular point I do not recollect that I have ever been fortunate enough to meet with any authentic document. Wheatley delivers his opinion merely as a supposition of his own, and his arguments in its support do not carry conviction with them. The following hypothesis may, perhaps, appear, as improbable to others, as Wheatley's reasons are unsatisfactory to me.

Generally speaking, the parts of the service, to be performed by the people, are in our books of Common Prayer, distinguished in two ways, either by a rubrical direction, or by simply printing their responses in *Italic*; but not by both of these together. In the lesser Litany always, and often in the alternate supplications, dispersed through our offices, Italic characters alone mark what is to be said by the people. When their response appears in Roman, it is always preceded

RUBRIC

BEFORE THE LORD'S PRAYER.

In the ancient church, some parts of the Liturgy were said by the priest, in a low unintelligible voice; within himself, privately*, &c., as the different Rubrics express it. And some parts were said privately, by both the minister and people. In the manner last mentioned, the Lord's

preceded by *Answer*, or some other rubrical direction. As an instance of each mode, take the two last responses, made by the people, in the supplications towards the conclusion of the Litany. Even *Amen*, which is generally printed in Italic, in some places, where it alone is appointed to be said by the people, stands in *Roman* letters. See *Amen* after each of the sentences in the Commination. — And what is the reason of this? To enforce a preceding Rubric, and to remind the people of their duty to answer *Amen*, it is thought good to place the word *answer* before each *Amen*; and after such a positive injunction, farther distinction by Italic is unnecessary, as well as contrary to common usage.

Upon this principle I conclude, that after absolutions, Collects, &c., which are repeated by the minister only, *Amen* in Italic is equivalent to a Rubric, and implies, that the people are to answer *Amen*. But after Confessions, Creeds, &c., which, all the people, as well as the minister, are enjoined to repeat, there was no occasion for distinguishing *Amen*. The people did not require to be particularly told that after they had repeated all the articles of the Creed, they were likewise to say *Amen*. *Amen* therefore stands in the same letter with the form preceding, because no discrimination was necessary. This, to me at least, appears an easy and natural solution.

The minister, I apprehend, is left at perfect liberty, either mentally, or vocally, to utter *Amen*; or to leave it entirely to the people, as he may be disposed.

* *Secretò, inclinatus, ex eorum, &c.* See the ancient Liturgies.

Prayer, and the Creed, were, before the reformation, recited in England, at the beginning of the morning service. But now the minister is directed to say the Lord's Prayer with an audible voice, and the people are required to repeat it with him. The reason of this injunction appears to be, that the ignorant may learn it; and that all may hear it, in order that they may repeat it with the minister.

In those parts of the service where the Lord's Prayer was said with an audible voice, in the Roman church, it was repeated by the priest alone, but in the Greek and Gallican churches by the priest, and all the people together *. The church of England now follows the custom of the ancient Gallican church †, which adopted that of the Greek in preference to the Roman.

Till the last review, however, the Rubric ‡ simply directed "the minister to begin the Lord's Prayer with a loud voice:" and it appears from the account given by Bishop Sparrow, that it was, in some parts of the service, repeated in the manner practised by the late Gallican church, and the modern English Roman catholics. He tells us that "in some places, especially among those ejaculations," (that is, the versicles after the

* Apud Græcos ob omni populo dicitur: apud nos a solo sacerdote. *Gregor. Mag. lib. vii. Epist. 64.*

† Mabillon, *Lit. Gall. lib. i. c. 5.*

‡ I mean the Rubric here; the Rubric before the Lord's Prayer, after the Creed was different. See Note p. 66.

Creed) “ which the priest and people make in
 “ course, the people are to say the last words,
 “ *but deliver us from evil, Amen*: That so, they
 “ may not be interrupted from still bearing a part
 “ in so divine a service*.”

The observation made by Bishop Sparrow, naturally leads to another remark, which is, that, in the offices of our church, the doxology was annexed to the Lord's Prayer, only at the last review. The doxology, I apprehend, the learned in general acknowledge to be no part of this prayer. It is not mentioned by the Latin fathers, and is rarely used in the offices of the Latin church. But as it is joined to the Lord's Prayer in our usual copies of St. Matthew's Gospel, was repeated in the Greek church immediately after the prayer, and is expounded by Chrysostom, and

* Downs' Ed. of Sparrow's Rationale, p. 18. In Edward's first book, the Rubric following the hymns at Morning Prayer, directs that *the Minister shall say the Creed and Lord's Prayer in English with a loud voice*. Neither of these are printed here, and the Rubric is immediately followed with the word *Answer*, “ But deliver us from
 “ evil, Amen.” Though the rubrical direction, *answer*, was omitted in the subsequent books; and after the Creed, &c., *the minister, clerks, and people* were ordered to say the Lord's Prayer; yet, till the Review of 1661 the minister alone began it, and proceeded to the latter clause of the last petition, when the clerks and people answered, “ but deliver us from evil, Amen.”—In the Romish church, the priest speaks the words *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*, whether the prayer is recited at Mattins, or chanted at mass, in a peculiar tone, to apprize the people that it is the time for them to reply, *Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.*

others

others of the Greek fathers, the reviewers of 1661 thought proper occasionally to add the doxology.

The Lord's Prayer here is to be said by *all kneeling*.* Kneeling in prayer is a posture of humility, which was used by pious men under the law; by our Saviour, by his apostles, and by the first Christians. Solomon, at the dedication of the temple kneeled down upon his knees before all the congregation of Israel. (2 Chron. vi. 13.) Daniel kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, (Dan. vi. 10.) Our blessed Lord kneeled down when he prayed earnestly in his agony, (Luke xxii. 41.) In the same attitude Peter prayed, when he raised Dorcas from the dead, (Acts ix. 40.) And Paul, after his exhortation to the Elders of Miletus, and before his departure, kneeled down and prayed with them all, (Acts xx. 36.)

* In some churches, when the Lord's Prayer is read in the second lesson, it is customary for the whole congregation to rise from their seats, and kneel. The practice is pious, and affecting; but its propriety may be questioned. To *repeat* the words of the Lord's Prayer with the minister on these occasions, is certainly irregular, except we suppose that the directions given at the end of this Rubric, were meant to extend to the lessons. But this is not probable; for it is the people's duty "to hear God's holy word," and no part of the lessons is appointed to be repeated by them.

It has, by some, been thought that the people are not to repeat the Lord's Prayer with the minister in the Communion office. But the words "both here, and wheresoever else it is used in divine service," added to the Rubric at the last review, contain a plain general direction, which a thousand repetitions would not have made more express.

With the disciples at Tyre, Paul and Luke kneeled down on the shore and prayed, (Acts xxi. 5.) Paul expresses prayer by the attitude that with propriety attends it, "I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," (Eph. iii. 14.) and to mention but one instance more, Stephen, at his martyrdom "kneeled down and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." (Acts vii. 60.) Kneeling is the most proper posture for prayer, and in this attitude the early Christians generally * offered up both their public and private supplications.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

The service, which we have hitherto been performing, may be considered rather as a preparation for prayer, than prayer itself.—We now begin to pray in that perfect and spiritual form, delivered to us by Jesus Christ, through whom alone either our prayers, or persons, can be accepted by God.

* I say generally, for it has already been remarked, that on Sundays, and from Easter to Whitsuntide, in the public worship, they prayed standing. These days they looked upon as symbolical of the resurrection, and thought that *standing* in prayer was fitter than *kneeling* on such joyous festivals. This practice mentioned by many of the early Fathers, is particularly enjoined by the Council of Nice. (Last Canon.) The penitent publican *stood* when he prayed in the Temple, saying, "God, be merciful to me a sinner;" (Luke xviii. 13.) and our Saviour said "when ye *stand*, praying, forgive." (Mark xi. 25.)

This form, composed, and prescribed, by our blessed Lord himself, was on all occasions used by the primitive church. In those days, the novel and strange objection, urged by some against the use of this prayer, that it is a form, was unknown. On the contrary, because it was a form, enjoined by our Redeemer and Mediator, it was always accounted the most spiritual and prevalent prayer, that man could address to God. To pray in the words of the Lord's Prayer, as the Christian Fathers conceive, is, "to worship God in spirit
"and in truth.*" In the devout use of this form, they considered themselves, as "praying with the
"understanding, and praying with the spirit
"also.*"

Chrysostom observes, that "the Father well
"knows the words, and meaning of his Son;" and "let the Father recognise in your prayers the
"words of the Son," is the counsel given by Cyprian. This glorious martyr to the Christian faith, esteems the Lord's Prayer, as "one of the most
"valuable lessons taught in the Gospel; and the
"goodness and loving kindness of our Redeemer
"in teaching us how to pray," he considers "as
"a peculiar instance of mercy. He who made us
"taught us how to pray, that whilst we speak
"unto the Father in that prayer and address,
"which the Son taught us, we may the more
"easily be heard." Cyprian adds, "since we

* Cyp. and August.

“ have an advocate with the Father for our sins,
 “ we should, whenever we pray for pardon, al-
 “ ledge unto God the very words, which our ad-
 “ vocate has taught us. We have his promise,
 “ that whatever we shall ask in his name, we shall
 “ receive; and must we not more readily obtain
 “ our desires, when we not only use his *name* in
 “ asking, but in his very *words* present our re-
 “ quests unto God*? Our advocate in heaven has
 “ taught us to say this prayer upon earth, that,
 “ between his intercessions, and our supplications,
 “ the most perfect harmony may subsist.”

And a more modern writer observes, that
 “ should men speak with the tongues of angels,
 “ yet words so pleasing to the ears of God, as
 “ those which the Son of God himself has com-
 “ posed, it were not possible for man to frame †.”

In whatever light, those, who dislike our eccle-
 siastical establishment, and affect to despise our
 Liturgy, may choose to view the Lord's Prayer,
 it is certain, that the primitive church did not
 look upon it, merely as a model, to which her
 prayers were to be conformed. The early chris-
 tians knew, that our Lord intended it for *use*, as
 well as for *imitation*. Hence it was called *Oratio*
legitima ‡, the legitimate prayer, the established

* Cyp. de Orat. Domin. cap. 11.

† Hooker, Ecc. Polity. Book v.

‡ It is so called by Tertullian, and Austin. The latter exhorts
 all to learn this legitimate prayer, which Christ has enjoined us to
 offer up to God and the Father, *Serm.* 126.

form of prayer, the prayer which Christ commanded his disciples to use in the very words delivered by himself.

In obedience to the command of Christ *, the primitive church always made it a part of all her holy offices. At the administration of baptism, the celebration of the supper of the Lord, and in her daily morning and evening services, as well as in private devotions, the Lord's prayer was always repeated.--Hence it was likewise called *Oratio quotidiana*, the Christian's quotidian, or daily prayer †. And when in succeeding ages it was discovered, that some of the officiating clergy in Spain occasionally omitted it in the daily service, they were censured by a council, as "proud
" contemners of the Lord's injunction," and it was enacted, that "every clergyman omitting it
" either in private or public prayer should be de-
" graded from the dignity of his office ‡." That it formed a part of the daily service of the Gallic

* "When ye pray, say," *Our Father*, &c. (Luke.)—Non singulis privatam precem mandavit, sed *oratione communi*, et *concordi prece*, pro omnibus jussit orare. (Cyp. de Orat. Dom.) Cyprian here calls it *common prayer*. ————— *Ecclesiæ oratio est*. Vox est de magisterio Domini veniens.—Ipse dixit, sic orate.—Discipulis dixit, sic orate.—Apostolis dixit, et nobis—sic orate. (August)

† Hunc panem dari nobis, quotidie postulamus (Cyp. de Orat. Dom.) Quia *quotidiana oratio est*, quotidie quoque ut detur, oratur. Con. Tol. iv.

‡ Quisquis ergo sacerdotum, *Orationem Dominicam* quotidie aut in publico, aut in privato officio præterierit, ordinis sui honore privetur. Con. Tol. iv. Can. 9. A. D. 633.

church, appears from the acts of an ancient council, which forbids “ any Layman to depart from
“ the place of public worship before the Lord’s
“ Prayer is ended *.”

The use of this prayer was thought by the ancients peculiarly efficacious to incline God to pardon sins of infirmity, and inadvertency, into which the best men are liable perpetually to fall †, and in particular, offences committed through the want of fervour and devotion in other prayers. This doctrine the church of Rome afterwards perverted, by departing from the opinions of the Fathers respecting *venial* and *mortal* sins; by enjoining the technical repetition of the Lord’s Prayer in chaplets and rosaries, and by annexing indulgences to such repetitions; all which abuses our Reformers were careful to correct.

With this prayer, the supplications in the pub-

* Nullus laicorum prius discedat, quam dominica dicatur oratio. Con. Aurel. III. Can. 28.

† De quotidianis levibusque peccatis, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, quotidiana oratio fidelium satisfacit. (August. Enchi. c. 71.) And again, Nisi essent quædam (peccata) sine quibus hæc vita non agitur, non quotidianam medelam poneret in oratione quam docuit, ut dicamus, dimitte nobis debita, &c. (Id. de Fid et Op.) He also styles this Prayer “ the daily baptism.” We are absolved once by baptism, but by this prayer daily. De Symb. Elsewhere, he calls it our daily purification, and, as it were, a daily baptism. The fourth council of Toledo, referred to above, enjoins that the Lord’s Prayer should be daily said, because it is a daily prayer; and as an additional reason observes, Delet hæc quotidiana oratio minima et quotidiana peccata,

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lic worship of the primitive church generally began *, and with it, the service frequently ended †. To the practice of the primitive church our reformers unquestionably had an eye, when they originally placed the Lord's Prayer at the very beginning of the morning and evening services.

Upon the review of the Common Prayer, which took place soon after its first publication, it was judged expedient, that the Sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, should be prefixed to the service. On what grounds this alteration was made, we have, I apprehend, no authentic documents : recourse has therefore been had to conjecture.

It has been presumed, and with the appearance of good reason, that abruptly, and without any preceding preparation, to begin the service with this divine prayer, was, upon more mature deliberation, regarded by the compilers of the Liturgy, as irreverent, and improper ; and that on this account, the change was made. In aid of this opinion we may observe, that in every office of the church, the Lord's Prayer is uniformly pre-

* *Præmissâ legitimâ, et ordinariâ oratione, quasi fundamento, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones.* Tertull. de Orat. c. 9.

† Aug. Ep. 59. and the words of the council of Orleans quoted in p. 72, Nullus, &c. And the council of Girone, c. x.

faced, either with the *Kyrie eleison**, (the lesser † Litany as it is called) or at least with a solemn address ‡; as it is here preceded by the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution,

To the truth of this general remark, the office of the holy Communion alone affords an exception. This office indeed begins with the Lord's Prayer; but we are to observe, that the Communion, as it is now generally administered in our church, can hardly be considered, as an entire service of itself. Debarring a few peculiar exceptions, the Communion office is always preceded by the morning prayer, and commonly by the Litany likewise; and, of course, before the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in this part of the service, no particular preparation is necessary.

Whatever may have been the reason for prefixing the Confession, Absolution, &c., to the Lord's Prayer, the propriety of the addition cannot be disputed. Till we had confessed, and repented

* See the LORD'S PRAYER after the Creed; in the form of the solemnization of matrimony: the order for the visitation of the sick, and the burial of the dead: in the Thanksgiving after child-birth, the Communion office, and "the prayers in respect of a storm."

† *Lesser* Litany, and *lesser* Doxology, are names by which the supplication, *Lord have mercy upon us*, &c., and the hymn beginning, *Glory be to the Father*, &c.; are commonly distinguished. The use of *lesser* instead of *less*, in these instances, "has all the authority; which a mode, originally erroneous, can derive from custom."

‡ As in the three offices appointed for the ministration of baptism; and the order of confirmation.

of

of our sins, we could not, in the endearing sense, in which we now use the words, call God our Father.* And before we had his promise of pardon and Absolution, we could not call him so with comfort.

When the church prefixed the preceding preparatory parts to the daily service, and directed the Lord's Prayer to be said after them, she certainly did not mean this appointment to be understood, as a disparagement of the Lord's Prayer. It is on the contrary, a mark of her extreme reverence for this divine form. Though the Lord's Prayer does not occupy the foremost place, in point of order, yet it stands in the beginning of our service; and is, in the church of England, what it was, in the primitive church of Christ, the foundation and basis, on which the superstructure of her other prayers is built†. The constant use our church makes of it, rehearsing it a second time, in her morning and evening prayer, and repeating it in every one of her offices, is a sufficient proof of the sense she entertains of its excellence and efficacy.

* God is the *Father* of the universe; all Nature owes its being, and support to him. He bears a nearer degree of the same relation to all creatures endowed with intelligence, and capable of virtue. Of man in particular it is said that he was created *in the image of God*, and he is styled his *Son*. A good man may with still better hopes make use of this endearing appellation; and a good Christian above all. He is *an heir of God, and joint heir with Christ*.

† See Tertull. quoted p. 73.

The compilers of our Liturgy were not ignorant, that the offering up of this prevailing supplication, with true devotion, and zeal of heart, affords to God that glory, to the weakest man that aid, and to the most perfect that solid comfort which is unspeakable.* Indeed of all applications to the Supreme Being, that are extant, this is incomparably the most rational, the most devout, and the best. Whilst its comprehensive conciseness, has in all ages been the admiration of the learned, its beautiful simplicity is not less remarkable. It is so short, that all may learn it; and so plain that all may understand it. At the same time it is so full†, that it includes all our wants, and so explicit, that, whilst it directs us, how to pray, and for what to pray, it teaches us, what we should be‡. It is in reality a complete rule of duty, as well as an admirable form of prayer. The Fathers call it “the Epitome of the Gospel §,” and what his hearers said of the preaching, we may, with equal truth, apply to

* Hooker on the Lord's Prayer.

† In veritate spiritualiter copiosa, ut nihil omnino prætermissum sit, quod in precibus et orationibus nostris cœlestis doctrinæ *compendio* comprehendatur. (Cyprian.) Quantum substringitur verbis, tantum diffunditur sensibus. Tertull.

‡ Unusquisque nostrum sic discat orare, et de orationis lege, qualis esse debeat, noscere. Cyprian.

§ Breviarium evangelii. Tert. See also Cyprian, quoted above, In veritate, &c.

the

the prayer of our Lord, “ never man spake like
“ this man.”

ORIGIN OF THE LORD’S PRAYER.

Among the Jewish teachers, it was a common practice to deliver to their scholars a certain form of prayer to be used with the established ordinary devotions. And to this custom the disciples of our Lord are supposed to refer, when they desired him to teach them to pray. In compliance with their request he dictated this form for their use, and the use of all, who should embrace Christianity. It is the observation of Grotius, that so averse was our Lord to unnecessary innovation, and the affectation of novelty, that he, “ who had not the
“ spirit by measure,” (John 111. 34.) and “ in
“ whom were all the hidden treasures of wisdom,
“ and knowledge,” (Col. 11. 3.) selected the words and phrases of this prayer, principally from forms, at that time well known among the Jews*. —One immediate advantage of this conduct of our Saviour was, that the disciples, and Jewish converts, would more readily learn that prayer, and embrace those precepts, to the terms of which,

* Docent nos ea, quæ ex Hebræorum libris ab aliis sunt citata, non tam formulam hanc a Christo suis verbis conceptam, quam in eam congestum quicquid in Hebræorum precibus erat laudabile, Sicut et in admonitionibus passim utitur notis eo seculo proverbiiis. *Tam longè absuit ipse Dominus ecclesiæ ab omni affectatione non necessaria novitatis.* Annotat. in Matt. vi. 9. See also *Capellus*.

before their conversion, they had been accustomed.

The Lord's Prayer consists, as it is usually observed, of six petitions, yet of the six, the three first can hardly be called by that name. They are more properly, acts, or expressions of adoration, obedience, and submission; by which, we render honor to the Divine Being, and give up ourselves, along with the whole creation, to his government and disposal, before we presume to offer any requests in our own favour, even for the supply of our most necessary wants, or the forgiveness of our sins.

There is a propriety in this. The inhabitants of heaven, when they worship him that liveth forever, cast their crowns before his throne, saying, "Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created."--"They rest not day and night, saying, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty." And although, in this present state of infirmity and want, it is our duty to "let our requests be made known unto God," yet in imitation of the saints above, it is also our duty to join thanksgivings to our supplications. It will argue a wrong disposition in us, if we never draw near to the throne of grace, but in our distress, and having received so many benefits, remember nothing in the divine presence, but our necessities alone.

PARAPHRASE

ON THE LORD'S PRAYER.

Commensurate to the excellence of this prayer, has been the number of its commentators, and expositors, both in ancient and modern times.

The following animated Paraphrase, well suited to my purpose, will not, I presume, be unacceptable. A few slight variations excepted, it is the production of a writer*, to whom I am also indebted for some of the preceding remarks.

Predisposed, and prepared to pray, by a sincere confession of our sins, and the hope of absolution; directed by the piety of the church; and, as we trust, prompted by the Holy Spirit, we address the Almighty Everlasting God, in the words of Jesus Christ, and say,

“ Abba, Father; thou author, preserver, support, of my being, life, hopes and happiness, who hast brought me into this world, thy work; and redeemed me by thy only begotten Son, through thy Holy Spirit, to an eternal inheritance in heaven; I acknowledge thy authority, and thy affection, with reverence and gratitude. I own thy

* Dr. Ogden. Vol. I. Sermon. x.

paternal power and tenderness, and approach thy presence with the sentiments of a son, with fear, and love, and joy. Thus emboldened, I raise my thoughts from earth to heaven; I look up to that celestial seat, where thou hast dwelt from eternity, enthroned in majesty, above all height, and clothed with light, which no eye can bear to behold. But though thy glory is unsearchable, and I cannot see thee as thou art; yet so much, at least, I can discern of thee by thy image, expressed in thy word, and reflected from thy works; that thou art great, and just, and holy. Thou wilt be sanctified, and holy wilt thou be holden by all who approach to serve thee. (Lev. x. 3.) Thou requirest truth in the hearts of thy worshipers; and that the lips which presume to utter thy hallowed name, be free both from impurity and fraud. May the number of such as present this incense to thy name, and a pure offering, be multiplied without measure. (Mal. i. 11.) And oh! that my voice also might be heard among those, who thus adore thee! But, alas! we have been enemies to our God; rebels to thy rightful sway; we have followed the dictates of pride and passion; have been seduced by the tempter, led astray by our own corrupt mind, or by the wiles of others; and thy world by our weakness and perverseness hath been subjected to the power of the evil one. (Eph. ii. 2.) How long, O Lord, most holy and true? The time will surely come, (let it come speedily) when thy
just

just dominion shall be universally acknowledged, in every region, by every heart; when Thou shalt reign unrivalled in all thy works; and the usurped authority of that apostate spirit, which divides and deforms thy kingdom, be utterly destroyed for ever. In heaven thy will is the inviolable law: myriads of ministers encircle thy throne, who cease not day and night to celebrate and to serve Thee, with uninterrupted praises, and unerring obedience. Oh! that such fidelity were on earth! that the sons of men did even now resemble that celestial society, to which they hope hereafter to be united, were animated with the like holy ardent zeal, and could give themselves to God with the same entire devotion! We are blind and vain, but Thou art wise and good. Wise therefore in thy wisdom, secure under thy care, great and happy in humility and subjection, we have no wishes but in Thee. Our whole desire and glory is to be, to do, to suffer whatever Thou art pleased to appoint.—During our passage through this perishable state, we trust, and know, that Thou, who gavest us life, wilt give us also all such things as are necessary for its support: and we ask no more. But, oh! leave us not destitute of that *bread which cometh down from heaven*. (John vi. 32, 33.) Let our souls be nourished by thy word and ordinances, that we may grow in grace, and be made partakers of a life which will never end. Wealth, fame, and power we relinquish as the portion of those, to whom thou hast

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allotted,

allotted them : let our riches be repositied in heaven : the object of our ambition is the light of thy countenance, even the approbation and applause of God. What have I said ? Can so frail a creature as I am hope to be justified, when he is judged ? dare I trust to that fiery trial, which will consume the wicked ? will my life, or will my heart endure the inspection, which is too pure to behold iniquity without abhorrence ? But O my Lord, there is mercy with Thee. Let me appeal from the severity of thy justice, and lay hold on this anchor of my hopes. Pity, where Thou canst not approve ; and pardon that which must offend thee. Then shall my life bear testimony to my thankful heart ; and that gratitude which extends not to Thee, shall overflow on men. How just is it, that I should shew to them that mercy, which I ask, and want ! I bless Thee for thy goodness, and I feel the *constraint* of love ; (2 Cor. v. 14.) and do now from the bottom of my heart, naked before that presence, from which no thought is hid, most freely forgive all those, who by word or deed, knowingly or ignorantly, have offended, or have injured me. I relinquish all my claims to vengeance. I bury from this moment, for ever in oblivion, all offences, and the very remembrance of resentment : And I most ardently desire, that the sense of thy divine and boundless love may kindle in my breast a flame of thankfulness to Thee, which no time can quench ; and an affection to men, which no provocation, no wrongs, can

can conquer. May this principle of love live in my heart, and direct and animate my actions ! I am willing it should be called forth, and cultivated, by exercise and discipline : and whatever trials, or sufferings thy wisdom sees fit for this happy end, I cheerfully embrace. Shew me no hurtful indulgence. I decline no danger for thy glory, for the good of men, for the improvement of my virtue. Yet remember I am but dust. Be Thou near me in those perilous moments. Let not the storms of trouble, trial, and adversity, overwhelm me. Strengthen my failing faith. When I sink, stretch forth thy hand. I rely on thy providence and grace ; that Thou wilt deliver me from the danger, or support me under it. Save me from sin, from the great enemy of souls, and from eternal misery.

These, Lord, are the requests, which my heart pours out unto Thee. But Thou seeest the wants, which it doth not know ; Thou hearest the desires, it cannot utter. Give us what is good, though we ask it not : and mercifully deny, when we pray for evil.

My soul falls down with the lowest reverence before thy throne, adding its little homage to the profound adorations and triumphant Halleluiahs of the whole host of heaven, and all thy saints on earth : power and honour, dominion and glory, infinite and everlasting, be to Thee, my Lord, my Father, and my God.

VERSICLES BETWEEN THE LORD'S PRAYER, AND
GLORIA PATRI.

The incomparable prayer, which Jesus himself composed, and recommended to the use of his disciples in their addresses to God, is followed by four short devout Versicles ; which, being recited by the minister and people alternately, are on that account sometimes called responses. In this mode of alternate recitation, the primitive church of Christ appears to have conformed to the model of the ancient Jewish church ; in both of which, it was customary to recite hymns and prayers in alternate sentences, one part of the congregation responding to the other. This difference, however, as some have thought, is observable. Among the Jews, the service was performed by the priests and Levites only * But we have a more extensive privilege, and every Christian is himself so far a priest, as to be admitted to join in this spiritual sacrifice.

The primitive usage of occasionally praying by responses, rejected by some establishments, (which so far at least have deprived the people of their ancient right of bearing a part in the service,) is wisely retained by the church of England. When we meet “in the habitation of God’s holiness” (2 Cron. xxx. 27.) whatever we ask with unity of

* See Ezra iii. 11, and the Commentators.

mind and *voice*, shall be done for us of our father, which is in heaven. (Mat. xviii. 19. Rom xv. 6.) Again, by this grateful variety in our forms, the attention, too apt to wander during the performance of sacred offices, is engaged, and our devotion is enlivened and invigorated.

These four Versicles, which we find in the most ancient Liturgies *, are selected from that excellent repository of devotion, the Book of Psalms. The introduction of them here, after the Confession, Absolution, and Lord's Prayer; and before Gloria Patri and the Psalms, appointed for the day, is a most wise regulation of the Church. They are intended to connect the preceding penitential part of the service, to which they properly belong, with the Eucharistic part which immediately follows.

The two former intimate that the mouth closed by sin, can be opened only by pardon. In token of which he who came conferring pardon, caused the tongue of the dumb to speak, and to sing praises to God. They may be thus more fully expressed by a paraphrase: O God, from whom the gift of utterance proceeds, assist us in our devotions. We are unworthy, and of ourselves unable, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; but thou in thy holy word, hast ordained, that even babes and sucklings should perfect thy praise. Open

* Lit. Jacob. &c.

therefore, O Lord, our lips, and by the inspiration of thy holy Spirit, so dispose our hearts, that with our mouths we may worthily laud, and magnify thy holy name, through Christ our Lord.

The two following ejaculations appear to be paraphrases of that remarkable supplication, *Hosbeanu*, frequently repeated in the Book of Psalms, (Ps. cxviii. 25.) and varying, as it has been supposed, but little, from the acclamation *Hosanna*, used by the Jews in the days of our Saviour. These two Versicles contain, earnest entreaties for God's grace, without which we can perform no acceptable service. Their import here is, We are wearied with the burden of our sins. We have destroyed ourselves, but in thee is our help. Make haste, O Lord, to save us. With speed further us in all things necessary to our salvation. Quicken and animate our devotions, and raise our hearts unto thee, while with joyful lips we speak thy praises, and glorify on earth thy Holy Name *.

GLORIA

* In the Breviaries these Versicles follow the Lord's Prayer at Mattins. The prayer, as has been observed before, is there said privately, and the Versicles are the first part of the service pronounced with an audible voice. In the royal primers likewise, these Versicles followed the Lord's Prayer, and stood thus:

O Lord, open thou my lips,

Ans. And then shall my mouth shew forth thy praise.

O God, bend thyself to my help,

Ans. Lord, haste thee to help me.

In

GLORIA PATRI.

This excellent Hymn is called *Gloria Patri*, from the two initial words in Latin; in which language, they signify “Glory be to the Father,” &c. It is sometimes called the lesser Doxology, in contradistinction to the angelical Hymn, or great Doxology, which begins “Glory be to God on high,” and is by our church appointed to be said in the office of the holy Communion.

The Doxology, *Gloria Patri*, is not merely an admirable hymn, containing a particular adoration of each of the persons, in the holy, blessed, and glorious trinity. But it is likewise a compendious Catholic Creed: for the substance of a Christian’s faith is, to believe in God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

From the times of the Apostles, at least from times very near those, in which the Apostles lived, to the present day, it has been the custom of all churches to incorporate words of Glory with prayer; and to conclude hymns, psalms, sermons, and homilies, with ascribing Glory to the Father,

In our first English Liturgy, the Versicles were,

O Lord, open thou my lips,

Ans. And my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.

O God, make speed to save me,

Ans. O Lord, make haste to help me.

the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* But of all the Doxologies, that have constituted a part of the public service, *Gloria Patri* is the most common, the most celebrated, and the most ancient.

ORIGIN AND ANTIQUITY OF GLORIA PATRI.

If the reasoning of Basil be conclusive, or his opinion may be relied upon, this hymn, *Gloria Patri*, derives its origin from the Apostles. Glorifying the Father and the Son, together with the Holy Ghost, was, in Basil's judgment, practised and prescribed by the Apostles themselves. This, he believes, was one of the ordinances, or traditions, which St. Paul praises the Corinthians for keeping, as they had been delivered to them by him; (1. Cor. 11. 2.) and exhorts the Thessalonians to hold, as they had been taught, whether by word, or by epistle. (2 Theff. 11. 15.) On this principle, Basil accounts for the practice of ascribing glory to the Trinity, which in his day was universal.†

* Δοξολογία dicitur omnis glorificatio, quæ tam in fine psalmodiarum, quam ad calcem orationum, & homiliarum, addi solebant a christianis. *Valesius* annot. on *Theod. B.* 11. c. 24. *Basil De Spir. Sanct.*

† Among unwritten, but ancient usages, Basil, in this chapter, enumerates signing with the sign of the cross;—turning towards the East in prayer;—the form of consecrating the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper;—and of sanctifying the water in baptism; the renouncing of the devil, &c.—*De Spir. Sanct.* c. 29.

In different passages of his works, we find him thus arguing: “ As we have received, so must
“ we be baptized; as we are baptized, so must
“ we believe; and as we have believed, so must
“ we glorify the Father, the Son, and the Holy
“ Ghost.*

Now the Apostles received commandment “ to
“ teach, and to baptize, in the name of the Fa-
“ ther, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”†
Preparatory to baptism, they, (as their succes-
sors certainly did) most probably required of such
as were to be admitted into the church, a so-
lemn confession of that faith, into which they were
to be baptized. This confession of faith St. Basil
styles “ the beginning, the original, and mother
“ as it were of the Doxology.‡”

If Basil has not proved that the apostles them-
selves used this Doxology, and recommended it
to others by their precepts, he has shewn it to be
highly probable, that they did both. This seems
certain, that the form of the Doxology was de-
rived from the form of the confession of faith,
(from the Symbolum or Creed, as it was after-
wards called;) as this last evidently was from the
form used in the administration of baptism.

Basil in the passage cited above, refers the Doxo-

* Ep. LXXVIII. & de Spir. Sanct.

† Matt. XXVIII. 19.

‡ Την δε ομολογιαν της πιστεως, ωσπερ αρχην και μητερα της δοξολογιας
ποιουσαμεθα, &c. — *De Spirit. Sanct.* c. XXVII.

logy to its true origin. The doctrine it contains, is unquestionably confirmed by numerous other passages of Scripture, but here it rests upon its own proper basis. Men may cast away all ancient orthodox creeds. They may deny even the pre-existence of the Son, and expunge this Doxology from their Liturgies*. But before they can overthrow the grand point of doctrine, which this Doxology sets forth, they must destroy the authority upon which it stands. They must invalidate the form of baptism prescribed by our Saviour: and this is a rock, the rock of eternal ages, against which neither the powers of infidelity, nor the gates of hell, will finally prevail.

Our own Hooker, who has adopted Basil's arguments, says, " Baptizing, we use the name of
 " the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy
 " Ghost. Confessing the Christian faith, we de-
 " clare our belief in the Father, and in the Son,
 " and in the Holy Ghost. Ascribing glory to

* Against the old Arians, Foebadius argued, " if your position
 " be true, you daily blaspheme God." To evade the force of the argument, they adopted that form of the Doxology, which sinister construction only made favourable to their cause. In justice to the Socinians, we must declare, that their practice is not repugnant to their tenets, Disbelieving those articles, which the Catholic church has ever held as the grand fundamentals of Christianity, they have, consistently enough with such principles, discharged from their Liturgy this Doxology, the Apostles' Creed, and all Confessions of Christian Faith. See Fourth Edition, and Advertisement prefixed.

God,

“ God, we give it to the Father, to the Son, and
 “ to the Holy Ghost.” It is, continues Hooker,
 quoting the words of Basil, “ the token, evidence,
 “ or demonstration of a true understanding, or
 “ sound belief* for matter of doctrine concern-
 “ ing the Trinity, when in administering baptism,
 “ making confession, and giving glory, there is a
 “ conjunction of all three, and no one is severed
 “ from the other.”

PROOFS OF THE ANTIQUITY AND EARLY USE OF
 GLORIA PATRI.

The earliest instance that we meet with of the
 use of this hymn, is found in the circular epistle
 of the church of Smyrna, concerning the martyr-
 dom of their beloved Bishop Polycarp, from
 whence we learn that a Doxology, nearly resem-
 bling *Gloria Patri*, were the last words he uttered.
 Polycarp was conversant with the apostles, and
 was consecrated Bishop of Smyrna†, by St. John
 the Evangelist. To him, among others, St. John
 is said to have addressed the Revelation, in which
 Polycarp is entitled “ the Angel of the church
 “ of Smyrna.”‡—When this truly apostolic man
 fell a victim to cruel superstition, and popular

* Αποδειξιν του ορθου φρονηματος, and elsewhere, φανερωσιν του σωτεριου
 δογματος—

† Text. de Præscript. c. xxxii. and Iren. lib. iii.

‡ Chap. ii. ver. 8. 12.

fury, bound* to the stake, with eyes uplifted to heaven he made a short fervent prayer to God, which is concluded with a Doxology, to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

The prayer of Polycarp is remarkable on more accounts than one. We have heard the melancholy occasion on which it was uttered. It is the earliest complete, regular prayer, which is recorded in the uninspired annals of the church; and it shews the opinion entertained of the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by the contemporary, the disciple and the friend of St. John. These reasons may perhaps justify the insertion of it here at length.

“ O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy
 “ beloved and blessed Son, Jesus Christ, by whom
 “ we have received the knowledge of thee, the
 “ God of angels and of powers, and of every crea-
 “ ture, and especially of the whole generation of
 “ the righteous, who live in thy presence, I bless
 “ thee that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to
 “ this day and to this hour, that I may receive
 “ a portion among thy martyrs, by drinking of
 “ the cup of thy Christ, for the resurrection to
 “ eternal life, both of the soul and body, in the
 “ incorruption of the Holy Ghost: into the num-

* In this deed of cruelty, the *executioners* exhibited an act of tender mercy. Such was their reverence for the character, and their opinion of the firmness of the venerable old man, that, contrary to the common practice, they tied him to the stake with cords.—*His* hands and feet were not pierced with nails.

“ ber

“ ber of whom I beseech thee that I may this day
“ be admitted in thy sight, a precious and ac-
“ ceptable sacrifice, as thou hast prepared, fore-
“ shewn, and now finally accomplished, who art
“ the true and never-failing God. For this, and
“ for all other benefits*, I praise thee, I bless thee,
“ I glorify thee, through the eternal, and heavenly
“ Jesus Christ, thy beloved Son, with whom, to
“ thee and the Holy Ghost, be glory both now
“ and for ever. Amen.”

The concluding words of Polycarp fortify the opinion of Basil, and amount to little less than a proof, that the Doxology is of apostolic origin. Of Polycarp, his disciple Irenæus testifies, that he taught and delivered to the church what he had received from the Apostles. Polycarp in his addresses to the people, often spoke of his familiar intercourse with “ the disciple whom Jesus
“ loved,” and appears to have taken a peculiar pleasure in relating the sayings, and the things he had heard, from them who had seen the Lord†. Polycarp then, who on all occasions adopted and delivered the opinions and precepts of the Apostles, may, in this instance, be supposed to have imitated their practice.

Towards the close of the second century lived

* Παντων I translate all good things, or benefits. Cyprian, quoting Matt. vii. 12, renders παντα all good things.

† Iren. adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 3.—Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. v. c. 20.

Clement of Alexandria, the most illustrious writer of the age, and the most justly renowned for his various erudition, and his perfect acquaintance with the ancient sages. The third book of his *Pedagogue* he concludes with a Doxology to the blessed Trinity, the terms of which are peculiarly remarkable: “ To the only Father, and the Son; “ to the Son, and the Father, to the Son our Instructor and Master *, with the Holy Ghost, “ one in all respects, &c. &c, be glory, now and “ ever. Amen.

Of Basil's mode of reasoning on this subject, we have already taken a cursory view, and we have heard his opinion, that the Doxology derives its origin from the Apostles. Let us now consider a part of the *evidence* of its antiquity, which the writings of Basil will abundantly supply.

We have his testimony that “ it seemed good “ to their fore-fathers” of the church of Neo Cæsarea, of which he was consecrated Bishop, about the year 370, “ not to receive the gift of “ the evening light in silence, but immediately “ upon its appearance to give thanks.” Who was the author of the words of the thanksgiving

* These words allude to the *title* of the Treatise, which is a discourse on Christian Morality. In the first book he proves that the word *incarnate* is our best guide and instructor, and in the last section of the third, he exhorts men to obey the precepts of this heavenly instructor, to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, he then addresses the Doxology.

used at Candle-tiding, according to our old English term, or the putting up of lights, he declares himself unable to inform us. Of these points he is certain; that “the Thanksgiving was an ancient form, the voice of antiquity;” and that “no one was ever accused of impiety for saying, “We laud and praise the Father, the Son, and “the holy Spirit of God*.”

The Eucharistic hymn, to which Basil refers, appears to be the very hymn, which is annexed to the Alexandrine copy of the septuagint †, and which the Greek church daily recites in her evening service, just upon sunset ‡. The learned author of the account of the Greek church thinks the hymn so ancient, and so remarkable, that he quotes it at length, though, as he observes, it was not his business to transcribe the Greek offices. It is called the Evening Hymn, and runs, “O Jesus Christ, joyful light of holy glory, of “the Father immortal, heavenly, holy, blessed, “being come to the setting of the sun, beholding “the evening light, we laud and praise the Father,

* Αἰνοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱόν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ. This form he calls ἀρχαίαν φωνήν. *De Sanct. Spir. c. xxix.*

† Now lodged in the British Museum.

‡ Usher, and Cave (*Hist. lit. Dissert. sec. article εσπερινός*) have remarked that the (Pagan) Greeks had a similar practice. *Varro* testifies that when lights were brought in, they sung a religious hymn, beginning *φῶς ἀγαθόν*.—To this the Christians opposed their *φῶς Ἰλαρόν*, in honour of our Lord, whom the Apostle describes as “the *Brightness or Effulgence of the Glory of the Father*,” *ἀπαυγασμα τῆς δόξης*. *Heb. i. 3.*

“ the Son, and the Holy Spirit, who is God.
 “ Thou art worthy to have, at all times, thy
 “ praises celebrated with holy voices, Son of
 “ God, giver of life, Therefore the world glo-
 “ rifies thee *.”

Basil farther observes, that if his contemporaries knew the hymn of Athenogenes, the martyr, which, when he was proceeding to the consummation by fire, he left to his friends, as a keepsake, as his last bequest, then they knew the opinion which martyrs entertained of the Holy Ghost, viz., that he is God, and with the Father, and the Son together, must be worshipped and glorified.

Contemporary with Clement, mentioned before, was Dionysius of Alexandria, one of the most learned, and illustrious bishops of his age. On account of his consummate wisdom and prudence, and his most amiable spirit of moderation and candor, he is surnamed by the ancients Dionysius the Great. He concludes an epistle to his namesake† with a Doxology, which he avers to be
 “ a form

* This Hymn occurs also in some ancient Greek copies of the Psalter. It is sometimes called *ὑμνος ἑσπερινός*, the evening hymn. Sometimes *ὑμνος τοῦ λυχνικοῦ*, or *ὑμνος ἐπιλυχνικός*, the hymn used at Candle tiding, or the time of lighting candles. Basil says *πνεῦμα Θεοῦ*: the Alexandrine copy reads *πνεῦμα Θεόν*. From the account Basil gives of it, Dr. Smith thinks the hymn must be referred to the *first* ages of Christianity.—See his account of the Greek Church.

† I follow *Basil*, who employs this term to denote, as I suppose, *Dionysius* of Rome, to whom the other wrote several letters, and presented

“ a form, and canon, or rule, of giving thanks
 “ and praise to God, received from the fathers
 “ who lived before their times, which in common
 “ with them he himself used, and does not now
 “ decline to write.--To God, both the Father
 “ and the Son, *with* the Holy Ghost, be glory
 “ and dominion for ever and ever, Amen.”—

And here it is the remark of Basil, that Dionysius would not have laid such stress upon this point, calling it “ a form and canon of antiquity,” if he had said (EN πνευματι), *in* the Holy Spirit. For the use of this expression was frequent and common: but it was the other (ΣΥΝ πνευματι,) *with* the Holy Spirit, which required an apology, the preposition ΣΥΝ, as applied to the Holy Spirit, being at that time not so generally used*.

BASIL proves from Clement of Rome, who presented some of his books. He confuted and suppressed in his diocese, the errors of *Sabellius*, and defended the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity against the Arians.

* Basil, de Sanct. Sp. c. xxix. From this single proof alone, it appears, that Basil's own use of *συν*, (equivalent to *KAI*, and the more *orthodox*, though less common form) and not of *EN*, was objected to as an innovation. Hooker (B. v. c. 142.) and Cardinal Bona, (Rer. Lit.) are of a contrary opinion: to which, however, after reading Basil's Treatise repeatedly with an eye to this point, I am not prepared to subscribe.—(*First Edit.*) After more deliberate investigation I still think that Hooker, Bona, and Bingham (B. xiv.) all mistake, though in different ways, the scope of Basil's argument, relative to *συν*, and *εν*: and they certainly misrepresent his own plain statement of the occasion on which the Treatise was composed.

lived in the time of the apostles, from Irenæus, the Disciple of Polycarp, from Gregory Thaumaturgus, his predecessor in the See of Neo-cæsarea, on whom he pronounces a warm eulogium, from Origen, who, he hints, was not, in all things relating to the Spirit, perfectly orthodox, and from many others of the most shining luminaries of the church, that in their prayers, and writings, they addressed Doxologies, to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. In short, he says, that the Doxology was, in his time, among the Christians of the East, a mark which distinguished the orthodox from others; and that the whole western world, from Illyricum to Neo-cæsarea, agreed in ascribing glory to each of the persons of the holy and blessed Trinity, in the very form, which he was censured by his adversaries for employing.

From the numerous specimens of doxologies that might be selected from the *Apostolical Constitutions*, I shall produce only the following, with which the evidence of the antiquity, and early use of doxologies shall be closed. It is taken out of the eighth book, and occurs at the end of the oblation prayer: “To thee belongs all glory and
 “ worship, and thanksgiving and honor, and
 “ adoration, the Father, the Son, and the Holy
 “ Ghost, now and for ever, throughout all ages,
 “ world without end, Amen.”

Though the *Apostolic Constitutions* be neither an inspired writing, nor the genuine production of *Clement of Rome*, it contains a very valuable collection

lection of the Rituals, and Liturgies of the church, in the time in which it was compiled; and, as judicious divines have thought, is not infected with those pernicious principles of Arianism, which some would fain fasten upon it; who, by imposing a sinister construction, have attempted to pervert the words of this author, as well as those of many of the Ante-Nicene writers, from their proper meaning to an heretical sense. For if the Doxologies in the constitutions, are not plain instances of the worship and glorification of the Holy Ghost, together with the Father, and the Son, it is hardly possible to find words to express these things. This work, particularly the eighth book, abounds with Doxologies, commonly resembling that which we have seen was used by Dionysius, and others; and this is the very form, in vindication of which, principally against the cavils of the Arians, Basil wrote his elaborate Treatise; the form which, as we observed before, he says he himself used, and which he commends, as expressing the true glorification of the Holy, Blessed, and Undivided Trinity.

THIS DOXOLOGY NOT ALWAYS EXPRESSED IN THE
SAME IDENTICAL FORM OF WORDS.

From the instances already enumerated, and it were an easy task to multiply the number to a degree incredible by those who are totally unacquainted

quainted with the writers of the ancient church, it is evident that the early Christians did not always express their Doxologies in precisely the same form of words : a precaution which the growth of heresy made it afterwards necessary for the church to take.

They ascribed glory, 1. To the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost : 2. *Through* the Son, to the Father, *in* the Holy Ghost. 3. To the Father, *through* the Son, *with* the Holy Ghost. 4. To the Father, *with* the Son, and *with* the Holy Ghost. 5. Sometimes only to the Father, omitting the express mention of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, though not meaning to exclude them. And, 6. sometimes only to the Son, not mentioning the Holy Ghost, nor the Father.

The truth is, each teacher of Christianity used his own mode of expressing glory, and though the fact has been denied *, it is notorious, that the same person, in different parts of the same public service, adopted different forms of giving glory †.

In the more early ages of Christianity, every teacher, those of eminence more particularly, had

* By Bingham. B. xiv.

† Basil affirms that he did it ; and states the two forms which he used. He said “ to the Father, and to the Son, *with* the Holy Ghost ;” and sometimes “ *in* the Holy Ghost.” The uproar made by the Arian party, on account of his using the form in which *with* occurs, gave birth to his invaluable Treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, addressed to Amphilochius.

the power of framing their own Liturgies, as well as wording their Creeds and Doxologies. Hence it is obvious, that a considerable degree of variety, in the expression and form, would naturally, and must necessarily, ensue. Still, however, with some little difference in the phrase of their Doxologies, the Christians of the three first ages agreed in uniformly expressing the same thing. Believing, and confessing, that in the eternal Godhead there existed Three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they ascribed to them, all honor and glory. Whether they mentioned the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit first; whether they used this, or that preposition, copulative, or conjunction, were matters of which they were little studious. “As long as the Trinity had due honor, and till Arianism made it a matter of great sharpness, and subtilty of wit, to be a sound believing Christian, men were not curious, what *Syllables*, or *Particles* of speech they used. — The different forms of glorification, saving only where evil minds do pervert and abuse holy things, are not else voices of error and schism, but of sound and sincere religion*.”

The sophistical disputations about syllables and words sprang from the Mundane philosophy. They originated with those, who disbelieved the peculiar doctrines of Christianity, as held by the ancient orthodox Fathers †. The abettors of the

* *Hooker after Basil.*† *Basil de Sancto Spiritu.*

Arian heresy began to make it a distinguishing characteristic of their party, to glorify the Father, *by or through* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost, intending thereby to denote, that the Son, and the Holy Ghost, were inferior to the Father, and Beings of a nature different from his *.

One of the consequences resulting from the sinister interpretation of the Arian party, was, that this form, “ which has not otherwise so much as “ the shew of any thing sounding towards impiety,” fell into disrepute.—Being suspected of countenancing, or concealing heterodoxy, it was generally disused by the Catholics. And agreeably to the spirit of the decisions of the Council of Nice, that form was universally adopted, which comes

* Hence this Doxology became a mark, or criterion, by which the orthodox were distinguished from the Arians. The orthodox repeated it as it stands in our Liturgy : but the Arians said, *to* the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost, implying the inequality of the Son, in opposition to the decisions of the Council of Nice. Leontius, Bishop of Antioch, who inclined to the Arian side, is said to have pronounced this part of the Doxology with so low a voice, that no person could discover which form he used. But this account we have from his enemies. Leontius did not prohibit either of the forms ; and notwithstanding the aspersions of Athanasius and Theodoret, I admire his moderation. He foresaw, from the violence of the contending parties, what dissensions would arise in the church of Antioch after his decease ; in allusion to which, applying his hand to his *hoary* locks, he observed, “ When this *snow* is dissolved, there will be much *mire*, and *mud*.” Sozom. Lib. III. Cap. xx. Theodoret. Lib. II. Cap. xxiv. See also *Vales. Annotat.* p. 26, on Ch. xxi. of the Second Book of Socrates, and p. 162 on the viiith Ch. of the Eighth Book of Sozomen.

nearest

nearest to the original of this Doxology, the form of baptism, delivered by our Lord.

OF THE ADDITION MADE TO THE ANCIENT FORM
OF GLORIA PATRI.

Between *Gloria Patri*, as it now stands, and the form in which it is found in orthodox Liturgies, and writings composed even after the Council of Nice, there is another difference which the subject leads us to remark.

Both in the Greek and Latin churches the most common form of the Doxology was a single sentence without a response, as “glory be to the
“ Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost,
“ world without end, Amen.”

In some churches they said “glory and honor
“ be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the
“ Holy Ghost, for ever and ever, Amen*.” And Athanasius cites it simply thus: “Glory be to
“ the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy
“ Ghost †.”

The latter clause, “as it was in the beginning,
“ is now, and ever shall be, world without end,” was probably not inserted till a considerable dis-

* Fourth Council of Toledo, and Miss. Mozarab.

† Athanas. de Virginibus Velandis. p. 829 of the Com. Edit. of 1601.

tance of time after the Nicene Council *. Whatever may be the era of the addition, the occasion of it certainly was, the spreading of the impious tenets of the heretics, who maintained, that the Son was not co-equal, and co-eternal, with the Father: that he was a Being of an inferior nature; and that there was a time, when the Son was not. As an antidote against these poisons, and to exhibit a full and explicit declaration of the true primitive faith, this latter clause, *as it was in the beginning, &c.*, was annexed. The first express mention we now find of the clause, is made by the second Council of Vaison, in France, held A. D. 529, by which the addition was adopted †. We ought however to observe, that this Council refers to the usage of the churches of Africa, Italy, and the whole western ‡ world, where, as the acts of the

* Baronius thinks it was added by this Council. But the acts of the Council are silent on this head, and the reasoning of the learned Cardinal is extremely unsatisfactory. See *Baron. Annal. A. D. 325 Article Gloria Patri.*

† Quia non solum in fede apostolica, sed etiam per totum *Orientem*, et totam Africam, propter hæreticorum astutiam, qua Dei filium non semper cum patre fuisse, sed a tempore fuisse blasphemant, post, *Gloria Patri, &c.*, “sicut erat in principio,” &c., dicitur, etiam et nos in universis ecclesiis nostris, hoc ita esse dicendum decrevimus.

‡ *Orientem*, the East, probably should be *Occidentem*, the West: for, as Bingham has observed from Strabo, the Greeks in his time omitted the latter clause. It may be added that the Greek church does the same at present. Instead of “as it was in the beginning,” &c., the Greeks say, “both now and always, and for ever,
(or

the Council state, the addition had already been received. This latter clause does not pretend to the sanction of either apostolic, or primitive usage: It rests simply upon the authentic testimony of SCRIPTURE, which, in a variety of instances, asserts the *co-eternity*, as well as *co-equality* of the three divine persons.

However differently the hymn may have been expressed, this we may assert, that the use of it has been universal in the church of Christ. The ancients concluded prayers often, and sermons always, with a Doxology. From Cassian, the disciple and strenuous defender of Chrysostom, we learn, that the Greeks repeated *Gloria Patri* after the last psalm. In all the western churches, that of Rome excepted, it was uniformly used at the end of every Psalm. This is the path in which the Church of England walked at her Reformation, occasionally admitting this hymn among her prayers, and ordaining that “at the end of every
“ Psalm, of *Benedicite, Benedictus, Magnificat,*
“ and *Nunc dimittis, Gloria Patri* shall be repeated.”

L’Estrange has observed, that “the words only
“ of this hymn are human; the subject is divine.” The exact form of words indeed is not found in Scripture, but the hymn appears to be a para-

(or to eternal ages) Amen.” Their form is found in the Liturgies ascribed to Chrysostom and Basil: Δοξα πατρί και υιω και αγιω πνευματι νυν, και αις, και εις της αιωνας των αιωνων. Αμην.

phrase

phrase of the song of the Seraphim recorded by Isaiah. "One cried unto another and said, Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory." Is. vi. 3.

And what is this Doxology, which, from the days of the apostles, has uniformly been used by Christ's church upon earth, but the hymn of glory described by St. John in the Revelation? "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power; for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created." (Rev. iv. 8. 11.) Whilst the church in heaven "rests not day and night, but continually cries, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts," the church of England requires no apology for the frequent repetition of her form of ascribing glory. GLORY BE TO THE FATHER, AND TO THE SON, AND TO THE HOLY GHOST; AS IT WAS IN THE BEGINNING, IS NOW, AND EVER SHALL BE, WORLD WITHOUT END. AMEN.

DOXOLOGY WHY PLACED HERE.

It has been observed, that David, in some of his penitential psalms, after confessing his sins, declaring his distress, and imploring pardon and deliverance, turns his petitions into praises, his sighs and groans into songs of thanksgiving.—Thus
We,

We, in humble hope, that our gracious Father, for his Son's sake, by the ministry of the Holy Spirit, will forgive us our offences, rise up, and *ascribe glory to God, to the Father, who grants us absolution, to the Son, through whom it was purchased and obtained, and to the Holy Ghost, by whom it is sealed and dispensed.*

VERSICLES AFTER GLORIA PATRI.

The first, that is, the penitential part of the service being completed, we proceed to the Eucharistic; or “to render thanks to God, for the great benefits that we have received at his hands,” and by repeating a portion of the book of psalms “to set forth his most worthy praise.”

Preparatory to this, the minister, addressing the congregation, exhorts them to praise the Lord. The Versicle he repeats is a literal translation of the Hebrew Alleluiah, a form which is employed by St. John in the Revelation, and was frequently repeated by the members of the ancient church, both in their public offices, and private devotions*.

Alleluiah

* Cantatur ubique Alleluiah. The whole assembly sung it at funerals with so loud a voice, that Jerom says, the gilded roofs of the churches shook with Alleluiah. Aurata tecta templorum reboans in sublime quatiebat Allelujah.—Mariners used it, as a signal, or call, at their labour, and the banks echoed Alleluiah (Sid. Apol.)

Alleluiah is likewise the title, as praise is the subject of many of the psalms. And the name, by which the book of psalms is distinguished among the Jews, is *Sepher Tehillim*, or the book of praises.

In the first Liturgy of Edward VI. Alleluiah, which is retained untranslated, is appointed to be sung from Easter to Trinity Sunday. The fifty days between Easter and Pentecost, we have already had occasion to remark, were, in the primitive church, days of great rejoicing in commemoration of our Lord's Resurrection. In some respects they were observed with a solemnity equal to that of the Lord's Day. In particular the angelic hymn, Alleluiah, was in many churches chanted during this season only* to which practice the Rubric of our first book of Common Prayer seems to refer. It ordains that after *Gloria Patri*,

—The ploughman in the field sung Alleluiah. And St. Austin describes it as the sweet signal, or call, by which Christians reciprocally invited each other to sing praise to Christ, *Celeusma nostrum dulce cantemus Halleluiah*.—Again, *Venerunt dies ut cantemus Halleluiah*. In Psalm. cx.

* In Africanis ecclesiis non omni tempore, sed tantum Dominicis diebus, et quinquaginta post Domini Resurrectionem Allelujah cantatur. Apud nos: præter dies Jejuniorum, et quadragesimæ, *omni tempore* canitur. Isod. de offic. Ut Halleluia, per illos solos dies quinquaginta, cantetur, non usquequaque observatur.—Nam et in aliis diebus varie cantatur, alibi, atque alibi; ipsis autem diebus ubique. Aug. Ep. cxix. p. 119. Tom. II. Ed. Par. 1555.

shall

shall be said “praise ye the Lord.” *And from Easter to Trinity Sunday, ALLELUYA*.*

To the question, Why Alleluiah is placed here, we reply, that, as the words “let us pray,” are oftentimes premised to excite attention to the prayer ensuing, or to intimate a transition from one mode of prayer to another; so “praise ye the Lord” is an indication, that we are now passing, from the penitential to the Eucharistic part of the service. It is at the same time an impressive invitationaly, addressed to the whole congregation, and calling upon them to join the minister in praising God, and to unite with him, not only mentally, but vocally, by repeating the responses allotted to them.

The answer of the people, “the Lord’s name be praised,” shews their obedience to the pious exhortation of the minister, and evinces their desire to join with him in praising God. This response was introduced into our Liturgy at the last review. But before this, it stood in the book of Common Prayer, drawn up by the Episcopalians in the reign of Charles I. and designed for the use of the church of Scotland. This book is commonly distinguished from our Book of Common Prayer by the name of the Scottish Liturgy.—And here I notice, once for all, that many of the al-

* In the second and subsequent books *Alleluiah* was omitted, and the English translation of it only retained.

terations and additions, made in our Rubrics and Liturgy, in 1661, were taken from the Scottish Liturgy*.

RUBRIC

BEFORE VENITE EXULTEMUS.

In the first Book of Common Prayer the Rubric prefixed to this part of the Liturgy stood thus :
 “ Then shall be said, or sung, without any invi-
 “ tatory, the psalm, Venite Exultemus, in En-
 “ glish, as followeth,” which was afterwards changed into “ Then shall be said, or sung, this
 “ psalm following.” But these words being probably thought not sufficiently explicit, the other part of the Rubric was added in the review of 1662.

* The book prepared by the Scottish Bishops, was afterwards revised by Archbishop Laud, Juxon, Bishop of London, and Wren, Bishop of Norwich. Juxon, who was then Lord *Treasurer*, had employment enough of a different nature; and the labour of revision fell upon the other two. They made several considerable alterations, which were approved by his Majesty. After having been twenty years in contemplation, the Scottish Liturgy, was finished in 1636, and ratified by a royal edict. The reception it met with, and the subsequent suspension of the Liturgy of the church of England, &c., are events but too well known. See Heylin's *Life of Laud*. In the Scottish Liturgy the new translation of the psalms is used; and there is annexed to a subsequent edition of the book, a curious rhyming version of the psalms, entitled, *The Psalms of King David translated by King James*.

In

In the service of the western church before the reformation, the invitatory commonly was some select passage, or text of Scripture, which was recited in most of the offices. In particular it was said immediately before, and after *Venite Exultemus*, and frequently introduced during the repetition of the psalm. Though *Venite Exultemus* is called "the invitatory psalm," yet correctly speaking, "the invitatory itself" comprehends only the sixth verse, "O come let us worship and fall down, and kneel, before the Lord, our Maker." This invitatory*, at certain closes and periods of the psalm, was of old, and still is†, in the Romish church, repeated nine times during the singing of the psalm. It was repeated sometimes "perfectly," and sometimes "imperfectly." It was said to be repeated perfectly when the whole of it was repeated, and imperfectly when only a part was said. For different seasons, festivals, and offices, different invi-

* *Invitatorium ipsum, ad aliquos versus illius psalmi, "Venite" repetitur integre, et ad alios imperfecte. Dicitur sexies integre. Ter vero imperfecte. Durand. lib. v. de Nocturn. For this practice he gives some ridiculous reasons. L'Estrange says, it was repeated six times by the minister, and as often returned by the people; in proof of which he refers to this passage in Durandus. L'Estrange probably knew that it was in his day repeated by the Gallican church twelve times, and omitted to re-examine Durandus. In the late Gallican church the invitatory was sung after every verse, and if we add once before the psalm, we shall have twelve, the number mentioned by L'Estrange.*

† I speak from the authority of a Romish Ex-jesuit.

tatories

tatories were appointed. But that generally used in the Mattins appointed for family worship, before the reformation, was either in Latin, *Ave, Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum*, or in English “*Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee* *.” This invitatory in the course of reciting *Venite Exultemus*, appears to have been said about eight or nine times at least. This is evident from Henry’s Primers; but it is not so easy to discover how often it was recited perfectly, and how often imperfectly. In the very same copy, where the English and Latin are printed opposite to each other, part of it is sometimes read in one language, and the whole in the other; and the disagreement among different copies, of what I suspect to be the same Primer, is considerable. Whether these variations arose from the mistakes of printers, or from some other cause, I cannot determine, and I feel little disposition to enquire farther into a point of so little importance. The repetition of invitatories in general, our reformers probably thought an idle tautology, and the invitatory *Ave* they knew to be “a fond thing, vainly invented, and repugnant to the word of God.” All invitatories were therefore abolished †.

The original of the name “invitatory psalm,”

* See the daily Mattins in the Royal Primers.

† Wheatley, among others, confounds the *Invitatory* with the *invitatory Psalm*, and supposes the words of Edward’s Rubric, *without any Invitatory*, to mean, that this shall be used “without any other invitatory psalm.”

we learn from Chrysoſtom. He informs us, that till the whole congregation were fully aſſembled, it was uſual for thoſe who were preſent, by way of beguiling the time, to ſing pſalms, of which Venite Exultemus was the chief. Some parts of this pſalm were in ſubſequent ages ſung with a ſtrong loud voice, like the ſound of a trumpet. The intention of which was to bring the people into the church. Durandus further informs us, that in his time, (above fix hundred years ago,) it was a cuſtom in ſome places for the people waiting in expectation of the morning ſervice, to haſten into the church as ſoon as they heard Venite Exultemus begun to be ſung*. Whether Durandus means *lying* in bed, (for this ſervice was performed at an early hour) or loitering near the church, every one muſt determine for himſelf. On this ſubject the opinions of Engliſh ritualiſts are divided.

This is certain, that the early Chriſtians, whiſt the congregation was aſſembling, and in the beginning of the ſervice, generally ſung pſalms. A ſimilar and very laudable practice ſtill prevails in ſeveral of our pariſh churches, eſpecially in the northern counties; where, after the miniſter was in the deſk, and before he began the ſentences, I have with pleaſure obſerved, all the congregation ſtanding, and ſinging the hundredth pſalm. In ſome churches in, and around London, as ſoon as

* Hinc eſt quod in quibuſdam eccleſiis jacentes ad orationem, &c.

the officiating clergyman comes out of the Vestry Room, the organ plays, and one verse of the psalm is sung. It is to be wished that the practice were more general.

VENITE EXULTEMUS,

OR THE NINETY-FIFTH PSALM.

THIS psalm is entitled *VENITE EXULTEMUS* from its beginning with these two words in the Latin version, in which language they signify "O come, let us sing, &c." It occurs in the Liturgies ascribed to *Basil* and *Chrysostom*; and *Austin* says it was used in the western church. It is employed by our church as an introduction to the psalms in general, having been originally composed for the public service, though on what particular occasion annotators are not agreed*. By the author of the epistle to the Hebrews we are taught to consider it, as an address to believers under the Gospel Dispensation. (Heb. iii. 15.)

In this psalm, we are first called upon to *praise* God, from the consideration of his infinite power, which extends to all places, and has dominion over all creatures. We are then required to *pray*

* Grotius thinks it was composed for the Feast of Tabernacles, and Calvin for the Sabbath Day. Others are of opinion, that it refers to the translation of the Ark. 2 Sam. vi.

to him, with the most humble adoration, as being our Saviour and Protector, and exercising the same care over his people, as the shepherd exercises over his flock. We are lastly exhorted to *bear his holy word*, and not to harden our hearts against his reproofs, and calls to repentance; lest, after the example of the unbelieving Israelites, who provoked and tempted him by their disobedience in the wilderness, we be excluded from the everlasting rest of the heavenly Canaan, into which God has assured us with the solemnity of an oath, that none shall enter, but those who are obedient to his word.

Considering the subject of the psalm, and the motives to duty which it presents, we find it is a very proper introduction to the succeeding parts of the service, which consist of *praise, prayer, and bearing* of God's holy word. Its being placed here, is an additional proof of what has been already remarked, and may every where be observed, the pious and prudent care of the church of England in the selection of her devotional offices.

OF THE

PSALMS.

The Book of Psalms, is that collection of sacred hymns, which were composed by devout members

of the Jewish church *, for the purpose of praising God, both on public and private occasions. Being not merely works of human ingenuity, but dictated by the Spirit of God, they are adapted to all states and conditions of the church. They are found to be as useful to Christians of the present day, as they were formerly to the Jews, or even to the persons themselves by whom they were originally written. From this comprehensive character, and from the intrinsic merits of subject and composition, the psalms have always deservedly been held in the highest estimation. Whatever difference of opinion may have existed among the ancient Christians, either with regard to speculative points of theology, or external forms of worship, all agreed in the use of these hymns, as the most effectual instrument of devotion †.

* They are usually called the psalms of *David*, from his composing the greater part of them. The other authors, whose names are mentioned, are *Asaph*, *Ethan*, *Heman*, *Moses* and *Solomon*, but to each of the four last is ascribed only a single psalm; except we suppose that Solomon wrote the seventy-second as well as the hundred and twenty-seventh. Of the 150, about 70 are expressly attributed to David; and there is internal evidence that others, which do not bear his name, are of his composition. From the number and excellence of David's psalms, he is, in the records of his own times, styled "the Sweet Psalmist of Israel." 2 Sam. xxiii. 1.

† By *Ambrose* the Psalms are called the Instrument of Virtue; by *Basil*, the Essence of Theology; by *Athanasius* and others, the Epitome of Holy Scripture.

In

In more modern times, the truly charitable and very learned Cassander had proposed to compose out of them a *public Liturgy*, with the benevolent design of softening the animosities, and reconciling the divisions which had recently taken place between the Romish and reformed churches.

“The ancients, when they speak of the psalms,” says, Hooker, “use to fall into large discourses, shewing how this part, above the rest, doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations, which belong to God: it magnifieth the holy meditations and actions of divine men: it is of things heavenly an universal declaration, working in them whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of mind, whereby they are made fit vessels both for receipt, and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for men to know, which the Psalms are not able to teach *? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most

* I have never seen it remarked, and therefore conclude it is not generally known, that this celebrated passage of Hooker is partly borrowed from Basil’s Proem to the Psalms.

Τι γὰρ οὐκ ἀν μαθοῖς ἐν τεύθεν; — εἰσαγομένοις στοιχειώσεσ, προκοπτοντων
αὐξήσεσ, τελειοῦμενων στηριγμα — οὐ της ἀνδρίας μεγαλοπρεπες; οὐ της
δικαιοσύνης το ακριβες; οὐ τὸ της φρονησεως τελειον; Ἐς. Basil, Pro. in
Psalm. Prim.

perfect. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world, which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, done, or had, this one celestial fountain yie'deth. Let there be any grief, or disease incident to the soul of man, any wound, or sickness named, for which there is not in this treasure house a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. This is the very cause, why we iterate the Psalms oftener than any other part of Scripture besides; the cause wherefore we inure the people together with their minister, and not the minister alone, to read them, as other parts of Scripture he doth *."

But of all the encomiums, and comments that have been written on the Book of Psalms, none has given us a fairer picture of their excellence, than that of a late amiable and pious prelate of our own communion. He has collected the sentiments and observations of a great variety of writers, which he has enriched with his own, and has embellished the whole with a piety of expression, peculiar to himself. The merit of the passage must be my apology for the length of the

* Eccl. Pol. b. v. c. 37.

extract; and it would be injustice to the reader, to give Bishop Horne's sentiments in any language but his own.

“The Psalms,” says this excellent writer, “are an Epitome of the Bible *, adapted to the purposes of devotion. They treat occasionally of the creation and formation of the world; the dispensations of Providence, and the economy of grace; the transactions of the patriarchs, the Exodus of the children of Israel; their journey through the wilderness, and their settlement in Canaan; their law, priesthood, and ritual; — the exploits of their great men wrought through faith; their sins and captivities, their repentances, and restorations; the sufferings and victories of David, the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon; the advent of the Messiah with its effects and consequences: his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, and priesthood: the effusion of the spirit, the conversion of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews: the establishment, increase, and perpetuity of the Christian church: the end of the world, the general judgment, the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King. These are the subjects presented to

* *Quæres utrum liber psalmorum sit compendium totius Theologiæ Scripturarum. Respondeo affirmative cum D. Hyeronymo, Basilio, Augustino, &c. — “Tractatus curiosis non indignus.” Jerom. Vol. v. Benedict. Ed.*

our imaginations. We are instructed how to conceive of them aright, and to express the different affections, which, when so conceived of, they must excite in our minds. They are for this purpose adorned with the figures, and set off with all the graces of poetry."——

"This little volume, like the Paradise of Eden, affords us in perfection, though in miniature, every thing that groweth elsewhere, every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, and above all, that which was there lost and is here restored, "the tree of life in the midst of the garden." That which we read as matter of speculation in the other Scriptures, is reduced to practice, when we recite it in the psalms. In those faith and repentance are described, in these they are acted. By a perusal of the former we learn how others served God, but by using the latter we serve God ourselves."

"In the language of this divine book, therefore, the prayers of the church have been offered up to the throne of grace from age to age. And it appears to have been the manual of the Son of God in the days of his flesh; who at the conclusion of his supper is generally supposed, and that upon good grounds, to have sung a hymn taken from it; who pronounced upon the cross the beginning of the twenty-second psalm, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me! and expired with a part of the thirty-first in his mouth, Into thy hands I commend my spirit."

“ Thus he who spake, as never man spake, chose to conclude his life, to solace himself in his greatest agony, and at last to breathe out his soul, in the psalmist’s form of words rather than his own. No tongue of man, or angel, as Dr. Hammond justly observes, can convey a higher idea of any book, and of their felicity who use it right.”

“ Let us stop for a moment to contemplate the true character of these sacred hymns.—Greatness confers no exemption from the pains and sorrows of life. This the Israelitish monarch experienced. He sought, in piety that peace which he could not find in empire, and alleviated the disquietudes of state, with the exercises of devotion.”

“ His invaluable psalms convey those comforts to others, which they afforded to himself. Composed upon particular occasions, yet designed for general use; delivered out as services for Israelites under the law, yet no less adapted to the circumstances of Christians under the Gospel: they present religion to us in the most engaging dress; communicating truths, which Philosophy could never investigate, in a style which poetry can never equal. Calculated alike to profit and to please, they inform the understanding, elevate the affections, and entertain the imagination. Indited under the influence of him, to whom all hearts are open, and all events foreknown, they suit mankind in all situations, grateful as the
Manna

Manna which descended from above, and conformed itself to every palate. The fairest productions of human wit, after a few perusals, like gathered flowers, wither in our hands and lose their fragrancy; but these unfading plants of Paradise become, as we are more accustomed to them, still more and more beautiful; their bloom appears to be daily heightened, fresh odours are emitted, and new sweets are extracted from them. He, who hath once tasted their excellencies, will desire to taste them again, and he who tastes them oftenest, will relish them best *."

ORDER IN WHICH THE PSALMS ARE APPOINTED
TO BE READ.

The Christian church has uniformly appointed the Psalms to be repeated oftener than any other part of Scripture, excepting only that divine form of prayer, which was taught by our Lord himself, and in our church makes a part of every service.

"Christians, says Chrysoftom †, exercise themselves in David's Psalms oftener than in any part of the Old, or New Testament.---Moses the great Law-giver, who saw God face to face, and wrote

* Bishop Horne's Preface to his Commentary.

† Hom. vi. de Pœn.

of the creation of the world, is scarcely read through once a year. The Holy Gospels, where Christ's miracles are preached, where God converses with man, where devils are cast out, lepers are cleansed, and the blind restored to sight, where death is destroyed, where is the food or immortality, the holy sacraments, the words of life, holy precepts, precious promises; these we read over once or twice a week. What shall I say of blessed Paul, the preacher of Christ? His epistles we read twice in the week. We get them not by heart, but attend to them while they are reading,—But as to David's Psalms, the grace of the Holy Spirit has so ordered it, that they are repeated night and day. In the vigils of the church, the first, the midst, the last, are David's Psalms. In the morning, David's Psalms are sought for, and the first the midst, and the last, is David. At funeral solemnities, the first, the midst, and the last, is David. In private houses the first, the midst, and the last, is David.—Many that know not a letter can say David's Psalms by heart."

Jerom tells us, that "in the morning, at the third, sixth, and ninth hour, in the evening, and at midnight, David's Psalms are sung over in order, and no man is suffered to be ignorant of David's Psalms."

From the times of the Apostles, the recitation of Psalms has every where formed one principal part of the service of the church. Some of the

early Christians, in particular those of the East, rehearsed sometimes twenty, sometimes sixty psalms in one day. About the year 350, in the churches of Egypt, twelve were repeated in the morning, and the same number in the evening *. This practice made its way into the western church; for from Jerom we learn, that the whole book of Psalms was read over once in seven days. If twenty-four were read every day, the whole would be read in somewhat less than a week †.

The original preface to the Book of Common Prayer informs us, that the Psalms were anciently divided into seven portions, whereof every one

* Cassian.

† In the religious houses of the Greek church, the general rule is to read the whole book in seven days. They divide it into twenty sections, of which two are read in the morning, and one in the evening.

TABLE.

Sect.	Psalms.	Sect.	Psalms.
I.	1—8.	XI.	77—84.
II.	9—16.	XII.	85—90.
III.	17—23.	XIII.	91—100.
IV.	24—31.	XIV.	101—104.
V.	32—36.	XV.	105—108.
VI.	37—45.	XVI.	109—117.
VII.	46—54.	XVII.	118—
VIII.	55—63.	XVIII.	119—133.
IX.	64—69.	XIX.	134—142.
X.	70—76.	XX.	143—150.

Smith's Greek Church, and Cave's second dissertation annexed to vol. II. of Hist. Lit. word Ψαλτηριον.

was

was called a Nocturn *. Of late times continues the preface, a few of the Psalms have been daily used, and the rest utterly omitted. To remedy this and other inconveniences, our church has appointed the Psalter to be read through once every month, excepting February, when it is read only to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day of the month †.

In this regulation the church of England dis-

* Nocturn in the Romish service strictly signifies the service appointed for any night. The names *nocturn* and *antelucan*, originated from the meetings of the early Christians to celebrate divine worship in the night, and before daybreak: a custom retained by many churches long after persecution had ceased. The nocturn was performed sometimes at midnight only, and sometimes at three different hours during the course of the night, viz. at nine, twelve, and three: the antelucan service at day-break, prime at sun-rise, or the first hour, tierce at nine, &c.

† Order how the Psalter is appointed to be read.—Before the last review, the directions for reading the Psalter were, “It shall be said through once every month; but because some months be longer than some others be, it is thought good to make them even by these means. To every month concerning this purpose shall be appointed just 30 days. And because January and March have one day above this number, and February hath only 28, February shall borrow of either of the months one day; and so the Psalter which shall be read in February, must begin at the last of January, and end the first of March. To know what psalms shall be read, look in the number, &c.—find the same in the table, &c.—upon that number you shall find what psalms shall be said.” *Rub. in old Books.*

This Rubric, with its appendages, which made the finding of the Psalms for the day a very intricate business, was in 1662 rescinded, and the present simple order enacted.

plays

plays her usual piety and judgment. With us the Psalms are recited much oftener than any other part of Scripture, and thus far our established practice corresponds with the usage of the ancient church. At the same time, that all the Psalms may be read in course, and that our Morning and Evening Prayer may not tire or disgust by its prolixity, we assign, for this purpose, the term of thirty days.

PSALMS TO BE RECITED STANDING.

Standing has usually been considered as the most proper attitude for praise and thanksgiving. Accordingly we find that, in the ancient church, the Psalms were almost universally recited in this posture. Even the exception made by Cassian, in one particular case, proves the general truth of the observation. Speaking of the practice of some Christians in the East, he says, that in consequence of incessant labour, and of continual watching and fasting, the people were not able to stand all the time while twelve psalms were reading; but at the last psalm they all stood up, and repeated portions of it alternately*.

* Cassian, lib. 11. c. 12.

THE PSALMS RECITED BY THE MINISTER AND
PEOPLE IN ALTERNATE SENTENCES.

In the early ages of Christianity, when Psalmody was considered as a principal part of the public worship, different churches recited the Psalms in different ways.

1. They were sometimes sung by the whole congregation; men, women, and children all uniting their voices. This is thought to have been the most ancient, and was, before the introduction of alternate Psalmody, the most general practice.

2. In the Egyptian monasteries, one person standing recited all the Psalms, (except the last) the rest of the people sitting with humility, and listening with reverence*.

3. Sometimes one person repeated the former part of the *verse*, as we may now properly express it, and was joined by the congregation in the close of the sentence†. Even in the service of those churches

* Qui dicturus Psalmos surrexerit. Cuncti sedilibus humillimis infedentes, ad vocem Psallentis omni cordis intentione dependent. Cassi. Inst. l. 11. c. 12.

† Euseb. Hist. lib. ii. 17. This was the practice of the church of Alexandria under the illustrious Athanasius, who was five times expelled from his episcopal throne. Before his third exile a numerous body of soldiers (5000) beset the church in which he was performing divine service, with an intent to apprehend him. Athanasius, who
was

churches where alternate recitation was generally practised, this mode, for the sake of variety, was occasionally adopted*.

4. A fourth way was for the congregation to divide into two parts, and to sing, or rather chant, alternately verses. From the responsories and from the chant of men, women, virgins, and children, there results, says Ambrose, a grateful melody †.--But after all, it must be confessed, that, from the writings of the primitive fathers, we cannot, in this instance, prove any thing like uniformity of practice ‡.

Whatever might be the origin of the alternate recitation of Psalms and Hymns in the Christian church, we can trace its existence about the close

was no less remarkable for his presence of mind, and promptitude in danger, than for his piety and erudition, directed a Deacon to begin the recitation of a psalm, (probably the cxxxvith.) and the people to join with him in the clause "for his mercy endureth for ever."—After the Psalm was interrupted, a prayer said, and the people in general gone out, Athanasius escaped among the clergy; the Arians, (who had undertaken to point him out to the soldiers) not distinguishing him. "I passed," says he, "through the midst of the soldiers, some of whom had surrounded the altar, and others with drawn swords, were walking about the church, the Lord guiding, and preserving me." Athan. de Fuga. Socrates Sozom. lib. iii. c. 6. Theod. lib. ii. c. 13.

* See Basil's very valuable 63 Epistle.

† Amb. Hex. l. iii. c. 5.

‡ There were, says Jerom, tot pene psallentium chori, quot gentium diversitates. Ep. ad Marcell.

of

of the first century*: and we know, that this practice nearly corresponds with what is related in the Old Testament of Moses and Miriam. It agrees with the custom of the Jewish church; and that our Saviour and his disciples sung alternately the hymn after the last supper, is an opinion by no means devoid of probability. Whether this alternate mode of recitation was used in the church of Antioch under Ignatius; whether he introduced it, in consequence of his having heard the angels praise God in this manner; whether after his death it was for a time discontinued, and revived by Flavian and Diodore; or whether they first brought it into practice; are points not easily to be decided †.

Admitting, what it is presumed the generality of Protestants in the present day are willing to admit, that the account given by Socrates ‡ is erroneous, and that Ignatius did not hear the an-

* See Pliny's celebrated Letter to Trajan.

† On this subject there is much disagreement in the accounts given by the ancient ecclesiastical historians; as well as in the opinions of their commentators, and of liturgical writers. Some reconcile Socrates with Theodorit by supposing that one speaks of hymns composed for the service of the church, and the other of the book of psalms. Some think Theodorit meant no more than that Flavian introduced the practice of alternate recitation in the *Greek* language, which in the *Syriac* had been used many years before. This is certain, at a very early period the practice was common. See Vales. annot. on Sozomen, b. iii. ch. 20. Theod. b. ii. ch. 24. Socrat. b. vi. c. 8. and Vales. annot. p. 78.

‡ Lib. vi c. 8. p. 313 Ed. Vales.

gels praise God in this manner, yet there is one who professes he did; and the testimony of this witness few Christians will be disposed to dispute.

“ I saw the Lord” says the evangelical prophet, “ sitting upon a throne. Above it stood the “ Seraphim. And *one* cried unto *another* and said “ Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts. The “ whole earth is full of his glory.” Isa. vi. 2, 3.

The alternate recitation of the Psalms is not, as far as I at present recollect, enjoined by any Rubric, nor by any other injunction of our church. But we uniformly adopt it, and in defence of our practice, we have to alledge, that it is perfectly congenial to the usage of antiquity, is sanctioned by the recommendation of the wisest and best among the fathers, has been ratified by respectable councils, and the most approved ecclesiastical laws, and is obviously calculated to keep up the attention, and assist the devotion of the people*.

VERSION OF PSALMS USED IN THE LITURGY.

The version of the Psalms, in the Common Prayer, is that of the *Great Bible*, so called from its appearance in a bulky volume, published under the authority of Henry VIII.—By the great Bible, or the Bible of the larger volume, is un-

* On the subject of the Psalms, our method of reciting them &c. see Hooker's Fifth Book of Eccl. Pol.

derstood the translation made by Tyndal, and Coverdale, and revised by Archbishop Cranmer, in contradistinction both to the *Bishop's bible**, published in the reign of Elizabeth, and the translation now used in our church. This last was too hastily, and consequently in many respects, not so successfully executed under the auspices of James, in 1603.

For retaining the old translation of the Psalms our reviewers have been very unjustly censured. In their vindication, it may be remarked, that they probably entertained an opinion, now very general among the learned, that the old translation of the Psalms is preferable to the new. Coverdale's† translation, (for neither *Tyndal* nor
Rogers

* The Bishop's Bible, though a much different translation from the great Bible in other respects, retained the same psalms without any alteration. The great Bible was published after *P. Galatinus* had brought in the pronouncing, and writing of the name *Jehovah*, never before heard of in any language. It is used in this translation, Pf. xxxiii. 12. and Pf. lxxxiii. 18. *Bishop Sparrow.*

† Miles Coverdale took an active part in the reformation. P. Martyr in a letter to Bullenger expresses a wish that there were in England many such men as Coverdale. He was by Cranmer consecrated Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward, and under the *Marian* persecution deprived. Soon after his return from exile he assisted, in his *Episcopalian character*, at the consecration of Archbishop Parker: Being old and destitute, he was presented by the Bishop of London, to the church of Saint Magnus, London Bridge; of which he could not for some time take possession on account of his inability to pay the first fruits. It is painful to read the

Rogers had any share in translating the Psalms), being unfettered with the idiom of the Hebrew, is expressed with greater freedom, and with more regard to the genius of our language than the new translation; which, from too fervile an adherence to the letter of the original, is often more harsh in its construction, and less harmonious in its periods. In the old translation, as must be expected in a work composed above 250 years ago, we indeed sometimes meet with an antiquated word, or phrase, which in the new is rejected. But blemishes of this kind are not numerous; and where they do occur, they are sufficiently compensated by the general merit of the work, which will not shrink from a comparison with the most

letters that he wrote on this occasion to the Archbishop, the Bishop of London, and his friends Lord R. Dudley, and Secretary Cecil: Their general tenor is to request “that they would set his age and “poverty before the Queen, and prevail with her to forgive him “that debt.” Some of these letters are subscribed *Old Miles* or *Poor old Miles*, with the addition, *quondam MILES EXON.* Veneration for Coverdale incites me to copy the epitaph inscribed upon his grave-stone.

Hic tandem, requiemque ferens finemque laborum

Offa COVERDALI mortua, tumbus habet:

EXONIÆ qui Præsul erat dignissimus olim,

Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.

OCTOGINTA annos grandævus vixit, & UNUM,

Indignum passus sæpius Exilium.

Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista

Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.

approved

approved devotional compositions of more modern times. Upon the whole we may venture to assert, that Coverdale's translation is much better adapted for public worship, than any other that has yet appeared in the English language. Had not the reviewers of 1661, been influenced by an impression of this sort, we may reasonably conclude, that the Psalms, as well as the lessons, epistles, and gospels, would have been taken from James' translation.

THE PSALMS POINTED AS THEY ARE TO BE SUNG,
OR SAID IN CHURCHES.

In the Prayer Book the Psalms are pointed, as they are to be sung, or said in churches. The points are these two dots, (:) resembling a colon, which occur generally about the middle of every verse, and were intended to regulate the chanting. It is but too notorious, that their original destination is commonly misunderstood; and what is more to be lamented, many pious persons, who have been taught to observe the points in reading, finding that these Psalms are pointed as they were to be said, are prompted, often to the manifest injury, and sometimes to the entire subversion of the sense, to make a sudden considerable pause at every musical point. Were the clergy occasionally to inform their congregations, that in the Psalms these points (:) denote a rest in the music only, and are to be totally disregarded in the reading,

this

this might palliate the evil. But by removing these little “rocks of offence,” a complete remedy might easily be effected. It must be presumed, that our choirs, to whom alone the direction can be of any use, are too well instructed, and exercised, to require such aids. But if they are necessary for some, those might add the points in their own books; or from time to time, as occasion should require, an edition of the Psalms, *pointed* as they are to be *sung*, might be printed for cathedral and collegiate use*.

GLORIA PATRI TO BE SAID AT THE END OF EVERY
PSALM.

In some parts of the eastern church Gloria Patri was formerly repeated at the end of the last psalm, which was called Alleluja, because they always selected for the concluding psalm one of those which had the title Alleluja prefixed. The concluding psalm was likewise called Antiphona, or the Antiphonal Psalm, from its being recited in alternate portions, that is, nearly in the same manner in which we repeat all the Psalms †.

* The animadversions on the *points* in the Psalms, apply more strongly to Te Deum, &c. In Gloria Patri, likewise they form a very improper disjunction.

† Illud enim quod in hac provincia (i. e. Gallia) vidimus, ut in clausula Psalmi omnes concinnant, *Gloria Patri, &c.*, nusquam per omnem Orientem audivimus.—Hanc vero glorificationem Trinitatis tantummodo solere Antiphonam terminare. *Cassian.*

The ancient practice, however, of all the western churches, (that of Rome alone excepted) was to repeat Gloria Patri at the end of every psalm. There is a peculiar propriety in this. The Doxology serves for a general application to each psalm. And as a penitential psalm may be followed by a psalm of thanksgiving, and that succeeded by one of adoration or prophecy, if they were not separated by this Doxology, or something of the like nature, subjects very distant and distinct might be strangely and improperly united.

WHY PLACED IN THIS PART OF THE OFFICE.

The Daily service of the church of England may be considered as composed of four parts ; of which the Eucharistic, or that which consists of praise and thanksgiving, occupies the second place. The reason of this distribution is, that we are not properly qualified to praise God till we have obtained remission of our past sins ; and previous to our addressing God for new blessings and benefits, it is highly proper, that we should render him thanks for those that we have already received *.

This

* Χρη γὰρ προτερον μὲν ὑμνεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐεργετήν εἰτε θυμῶν, εἰτε καὶ μὴ· εἰθ ἡτῶς σπεύδαιώς τὰς ἰκετείας προσφέρειν.—*Theod. in Epist. ad Philip. c. iv.*

Δεῖ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν δεδομένων εὐχαρισεῖν προτερον, καὶ τὴν καὶ αὐτὰ τὴν ἰκετείαν προσφέρειν. *Id. In Ep. ad Col. c. iv.*

This order of the service is not only agreeable to reason and the nature of things, but conformable to the practice of the primitive church; for Basil informs us, that “after confession they rose up and proceeded to Psalmody.” If we have duly performed the preceding parts of the service, we shall be disposed to recite David’s Psalms with David’s spirit. This frame of spirit, as Basil observes, is more peculiarly necessary in the use of the psalms. For the other parts of Scripture are read to us, but these every man repeats as his own words.

This work being intended not only as an aid to rational devotion in public, but as an help to holy meditation in private, the following common table is subjoined. It is of use in directing devout persons to such psalms as may suit their peculiar spiritual circumstances, and frame of mind. In

Διδασκομεθα πρωτον ευχαριςτειν υπερ τω προσηρυγμενων ημιν αγαθων, ειθ ουτως αιτειν τα ελλειποντα—τουτο γαρ εστιν ευρειν πανταχου ποιουντα τον θεον αποστολον. *Id. In Ep. 1. ad Theff. c. 1.*

Inchoari oratio debet a Dei laude. *Amb.*—Prima oratio laudem debet habere Dei, *Ibid.*—Bona oratio quæ ordinem servat, ut primo a divinis inchoemus laudibus. Si enim apud hominem agimus, benevolum volumus judicem facere. Quanto magis cum Dominum nostrum precamur? primum ergo immolemus Deo sacrificium laudis. —(Vid. 1. Tim. ii.) Doceat te Davidicus psalmus octavus. *Id. Virg. inst. c. 11.*

this

this table, which is capable of improvement, the psalms are classed under their respective subjects.

I. *Prayers.*

- I. Prayers for pardon of sin. Psalm 6, 25, 38, 51, 130. Psalms styled penitential 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143.
- II. Prayers composed when the Psalmist was deprived of an opportunity of the public exercise of religion. Psalm 42, 43, 63, 84.
- III. Prayers wherein the Psalmist seems extremely dejected, though not totally deprived of consolation, under his afflictions. Psalm 13, 22, 69, 77, 88, 143.
- IV. Prayers wherein the Psalmist asketh help of God, in consideration of his own integrity, and the uprightness of his cause. Psalm 7, 17, 26, 35.
- V. Prayers expressing the firmest truth and confidence in God under afflictions. Psalm 3, 16, 27, 31, 54, 56, 57, 61, 62, 71, 86.
- VI. Prayers composed when the people of God were under affliction or persecution. Psalm 44, 60, 74, 79, 80, 83, 89, 94, 102, 123, 137.
- VII. The following are likewise Prayers in time of trouble and affliction. Psalm 4, 5, 11, 28, 41, 55, 59, 64, 70, 109, 120, 140, 141, 142.
- VIII. Prayers of intercession. Psalm 20, 67, 122, 132, 144.

II. *Psalms of Thanksgiving.*

- I. Thanksgiving for mercies vouchsafed to particular persons. Psalm 9, 18, 21, 30, 34, 40, 75, 103, 108, 116, 118, 138, 144.
- II. Thanksgivings for mercies vouchsafed to the Israelites in general. Psalm 46, 48, 65, 66, 68, 76, 81, 85, 98, 105, 124, 126, 129, 135, 136, 149.

III. *Psalms*

III. *Psalms of Praise and Adoration, displaying the Attributes of God.*

- I. General acknowledgments of God's goodness and mercy, and particularly his care and protection of good men. Psalm 23, 34, 36, 91, 100, 103, 107, 117, 121, 145, 146.
- II. Psalms displaying the power, majesty, glory, and other attributes of the Divine Being. Psalm 8, 19, 24, 29, 33, 47, 50, 65, 66, 76, 77, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 104, 111, 113, 114, 115, 134, 139, 147, 148, 150.

IV. *Instructive Psalms.*

- I. The different characters of good and bad men: the happiness of the one, and the miseries of the other, are represented in the following Psalms, 1, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 24, 25, 32, 34, 36, 37, 50, 52, 53, 58, 73, 75, 84, 91, 92, 94, 112, 119, 121, 125, 127, 128, 133.
- II. The excellence of God's law. Psalm 19, 119.
- III. The vanity of human life. Psalm 39, 49, 90.
- IV. Advice to magistrates. Psalm 82, 101.
- V. The virtue of humility. Psalm 131.

V. *Prophetical Psalms.*

Psalm 2, 16, 22, 40, 45, 68, 72, 87, 110, 118.

VI. *Historical Psalms.*

Psalm 78, 105, 106.

RUBRIC CONCERNING THE LESSONS.

In this Rubric there is one passage at least, which requires elucidation. “He that readeth” is directed so to stand, and turn himself, as he may best be heard by all such as are present.”

The *Order*, which in legitimate copies, immediately precedes the first Rubric in the Morning Prayer, directs that “the Morning and Evening Prayer shall be used in the accustomed place of the church, chapel, or chancel, except it shall otherwise be determined by the ordinary of the place.” For some years after the reformation, the minister performed these offices, as well as the communion service, in the choir, or chancel, near the altar. In the payers he turned towards the altar, but when he pronounced the absolution, and read the lessons he turned to the people.

In many of our old parish churches, the chancels are nearly as long as the church and of course the east end of the chancel, where the minister officiated, is at a great distance from the nave or body of the church. Again in some churches the voice was so impeded by obstructions, that the people at the west end, and at the northern and southern extremities could not hear distinctly, what was read from the chancel. For the accommodation of both the minister and the congre-

congregation, some of the bishops, by virtue of the power with which this Rubric, made in the reign of Elizabeth, invests them, dispensed with the performance of the Morning and Evening Service at the altar; and in many places, *reading pews* were erected in the body of the church in which the minister read Morning and Evening Prayer. The practice soon became general, though it appears not to have been universal in the year 1603. For the canons made that year order, that “a convenient seat be provided for the minister to read service in;” an injunction unnecessary, had there already been one in every church.

Many of these reading pews had two desks. One for the book of Common Prayer, and one opposite to it for the bible. When the minister read the Prayers he necessarily looked towards the altar*; but when the Bible was read, by turning towards the people, he would “be best heard of all such as were present.”

The office of the holy communion is still expressly appointed to be performed in the chancel, and the priest is directed when he begins the Lord's Prayer, Commandments, &c., to “stand on the north side of the table.” Even when

* In the *ancient* church of England, the officiating minister, in prayers, lauds, confessions, &c., turned from the people towards the East. But in such parts of the service, as were addressed to the people, he was directed to turn towards them. This was the practice of the *ancient* Christian churches in general.

there is no communion, the parts of the office that are read must be read from the chancel *. The Rubric here is plain and exprefs and customary neglect, in some places, cannot release us from our obligations to obey those laws of the church, which we have solemnly vowed to observe.

From the directions of the Rubric before the lessons there is one very general deviation, which some think proper enough in itself, provided it be allowable; I allude to the usual form of giving out the Lessons. It is perhaps better to say, *The first lesson for this Morning's Service, or appointed for, &c., is the 21st ch. of—or part of the 21st ch. of—beginning at the 10th verse*; than to say, *here beginneth the 10th verse of the 21st chap. of—*. Some Clergymen say simply, *the 21st of—or part of the 21st of—*.

In this Rubric there is another circumstance which it may be proper to note. The first lesson is appointed to be read out of the Old Testament; and no mention is made of the Apocrypha in the Rubric. Yet some lessons are taken out of the Apocryphal books. This difficulty, which at

* Dr. Bennet thinks these parts of the Communion Service may be read from the Desk. But the judicious Archdeacon Sharpe has proved, that the arguments with which he supports this opinion are founded on a *mistake*. See Bennet's *Paraphrase on the Common Prayer*, and Sharpe's *Third Charge*.

first

first sight may appear important, is made sufficiently plain by the help of the calendar. Though the Apocrypha is not specified in the Rubric, yet it was not meant to be excluded. The lessons taken out of the Apocrypha are so few, that our reformers probably did not think them deserving of particular notice in this place *.

OF THE LESSONS.

From the Exhortation, at the opening of the service, we learn that one principal end of our meeting together in the house of God, is, “to hear his most holy word.” After reciting a portion of the psalms there is a peculiar propriety in reading other parts of Holy Scripture. Our minds being elevated, and our affections warmed, by celebrating the praises of God, we are prepared to listen with attention and reverence to the his-

* From some accidental inadvertencies the Rubrics are not perfectly free. For nearly a century prior to the last review, the Morning and Evening Prayer had been generally read, not in the chancel, but in the desk. Yet the Rubric which precedes the Communion Service directs, “The table shall stand in the place where Morning and Evening Prayer are appointed to be read.” These words in the Rubric were probably overlooked by the reviewers of 1661. On no other supposition can we easily account for their remaining unaltered, after the place of reading the Morning and Evening Prayer was changed from the table to the desk.

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tory of his providence, the dispensation of his grace, and the rules of our duty. Here therefore follow, with the intervention only of a hymn, two lessons, the first taken from the Old Testament, the second from the New. The course pursued by the church points out the order and disposition of the two covenants, and shews the harmony and connexion that exist between them.

In a professed elucidation of the daily Common Prayer, it will naturally be expected that some account should be given of those sacred volumes, out of which the Lessons are taken, and at what period the institution of public reading and preaching was introduced into the church.

OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

The writings, of which the Old and New Testament, consist, are collectively called the BIBLE*.
From

* The Bible signifies the Book, and is so called from being the best of books, the book which we ought chiefly to study, the book that contains the rules of our duty, and can alone furnish us with the means of performing it. The Bible, or the written word of God, is the grand instrument of illumination by which the mind of man is enlightened and elevated, as it were, above its natural condition. From this fountain of inspiration all the knowledge that we can obtain, both of God and ourselves is primarily derived. Compared with the Bible all human compositions are as time to eternity; these may afford us transient amusement in our light afflictions; but it is the Bible alone that can be of real service to us, *in the time of necessity and at the hour of death.* The name Bible is derived from the Greek word

From the manner in which the subject is presented to us, we are apt to consider it as a single book. But the Bible consists of various treatises composed by different authors, and at very distant periods of time. It contains a copious collection, of the works of inspired writers, which are at present, in general arranged according to their different subjects. The arrangement of the books of the *Old Testament*, as well as the titles by which they have been distinguished, has been different in different countries and times. They may however be reduced to three classes; 1. the historical; 2. the poetical; and, 3. the prophetic.

1. The historical part comprehends the Pentateuch, or the five books of Moses*, the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, the four books of Kings, the two books of Chronicles, and the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther. These books

word, *Biblos*, which properly signifies a species of Egyptian reed, of which paper, and books were anciently made.

* Moses is said to have been the Father both of history and poetry, and the inventor of letters, which he is supposed to have received by divine communication on the Mount. It is probable that the Grecian name of the Muse, who was accounted the patroness of letters, and the inspirer of wisdom and knowledge, is the same with the Hebrew name of Moses; which in the Greek language is expressed by *Μωυσα*. If this be admitted as a fact, it tends very strongly to shew from what source the learning of the Greeks and Romans was derived, though to them the fountain was hid, and the stream polluted by flowing through a corrupted soil.

are

are written with great perspicuity, and dignity of language. The Pentateuch more especially is a master-piece of composition, and must claim precedence of the most perfect productions of human genius. Besides a brief account of the creation and fall of man, the corruption and destruction of the antediluvian world, and the renovation of the human race in the family of Noah, the Pentateuch exhibits, on a larger scale, the lives of the patriarchs, the sojourning of the Israelites in Egypt, their Exodus from thence, and progress through the wilderness, the delivery of the law from Mount Sinai, and the institution of the levitical priesthood. The remainder of the historical books contains a regular, and connected history of the Jewish nation, as it existed under different forms of government, from its first settlement in the land of Canaan, to the time of the Babylonish captivity.

2. The second class contains the book of Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon. The books of this class are chiefly the composition of David and Solomon, the two most celebrated Kings of Israel, and may derive an additional value in the estimation of some from the exalted station of their Authors.—The book of Job alone is of uncertain original. By some it has been attributed to Moses *, and supposed to have been

* See marginal note in the Bible, on the title of the book of Job.

written during his residence in the land of Midian. Some think that it was composed by Job himself* in the language of his own country, and afterwards translated into Hebrew by Moses; others are of opinion that it was written since the days of Moses. Whoever was the author of the book, it bears internal marks of high antiquity, and contains some of the sublimest effusions of poetry, that are to be found in any language.

These poetical, as well as some of the historical books †, have been placed by the latter Jews in that class of Scripture, to which they have given the name of *Hagiographa*, or holy writings, not because they are of a more sacred complexion than the rest, but to make a fanciful distinction between those books which are inspired and prophetic, and those which are written by inspiration, but not prophetic inspiration. ‡ It is somewhat remarkable that the book of Daniel should have been placed in this latter class. Was not this done with a view of lessening the credit of a writer who has spoken more distinctly and clearly of the time of the coming of the Messiah, than any other of the prophets?

* From the nature and complexion of the poem, we might have been disposed to consider Job as a mere poetical character, if he had not been expressly referred to as a real character. Ezek. xiv. 14, James v. 11.

† The historical books; admitted into the *Hagiographa*, are Ruth, Ester, Ezra; Chronicles, and Nehemiah.

‡ See Leusden's Phil. Heb.

3. The prophetic books are also of a poetical cast, and, considered as compositions, some of them are in no degree inferior to the most approved of the poetical books. This class includes, the four major prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, and the twelve minor prophets, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habbakuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi.

The prophetic books exhibit in their general features the most awful representations of the divine majesty, God's gracious condescension to repenting sinners, and his extreme indignation against the impenitent and incorrigibly wicked. They abound with predictions, in which the Jews, the peculiar people of God, are threatened with the divine judgments, for their open and notorious violation of the law, while at intervals they are comforted with the assurance of a more perfect and glorious establishment, to be completed after their suffering the miseries of a long and grievous captivity.

In the prophetic books, the Gentile world is likewise cheered with the prospect of a new and spiritual dispensation, which has now, "in the fulness of time," been accomplished by the Revelation of Jesus Christ.

The whole volume of these sacred writings, which St. Paul dignifies with the title, "Oracles of God," was (excepting a small part of a few books) originally composed in Hebrew, and they

have been preserved with such care and fidelity by those, to whom they were committed, that they have come down to us with few material variations in the sense, and with none in any essential point of doctrine.

OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

The New Testament consists also of three species of writing; 1, the historical; 2, the epistolary; and, 3, the prophetic.

1. The historical comprehends, in the first place, the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. In these, the principal transactions of the life of our Saviour, and the instructions delivered by him during his public ministry, are recorded in such a style of simplicity and unaffected dignity, as to be every way worthy of the *character* which the Evangelists delineate, and of the doctrines and duties which he taught. The historical part likewise contains the Acts of the Apostles written by St. Luke, in which are very particularly detailed the earliest accounts of the propagation of the Gospel, and more especially the travels and transactions of St. Paul.

2. The epistolary part is chiefly the production of St. Paul, whose zeal, perseverance, and success, in preaching the Gospel, are equalled only by the fervency of his charity, and the animation of his language. Of the epistles of St. Paul, which

which are fourteen in number, the greater part is addressed to the different churches of Europe and Asia, which at that time composed the christian world, several of which the Apostle had himself planted, and all of which he had visited in the course of his ministry. The subjects of which they treat is the whole sum and substance of religion, as it relates to both the Jewish and the Christian covenants; and the different topics are handled with such a depth of argument and variety of illustration, as to form an inexhaustible fund of scientific and practical Theology. Of St. Paul's Epistles it is further remarkable, that, while they are addressed to particular churches, or societies of Christians, the subject is of such a nature, or treated in such a manner, that, with allowance for local and temporary circumstances, the precepts apply equally to all churches in the present day*.—The remaining epistles were respectively written by the Apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude.

These epistles have been denominated Catholic † that is, universal or general, because they are

* The epistles of St. Paul are not placed in exact chronological Order, but according to the priority or reputed rank of the churches to which they were addressed. Their arrangement in the order of *time* is supposed by Michaelis to be as follows.—Galatians, i. and ii. Thessalonians, i. and ii. Corinthians, i. Timothy, Romans, Philemon, Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians, Hebrews, Titus, ii. Timothy.

† Though the whole of these epistles are denominated Catholic;

are not addressed to particular churches as those of St. Paul were, but to the Christian Community at large.

3. The part which may properly be term'd prophetic, consists only of the Revelation of St. John. Under a variety of mystical figures, and emblematical representations, this book has been generally thought to describe the fortunes of the Christian church, tracing its progress through a long series of depression and persecution to its final establishment, and consummation in glory.

The import of some of the visions may easily be distinguished through the shadowy scenery that surrounds them: but the greater part of the prophecies is so involved in mystery and obscurity, as to be unintelligible to the learned, and therefore unfit to be read to an ordinary congregation. To this obscurity and difficulty of the subject, it must be attributed, that only three lessons are selected from the book of Revelation, for the service of the church.

The books of the New Testament, being intended for the use and edification of the Christian world, were not written in Hebrew, as the old

yet two of them, viz. the second and third of John, are addressed only to individuals. It was probably for this reason that our translators departed from the Greek text, omitting the word *General* at the head of these epistles: But if these latter epistles are not to be termed General, it may be asked with what propriety the first is called *the first epistle general of John*?

Testa-

Testament was. If we except the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is thought to have been originally composed in Syro-Chaldaic, or *the language which Jesus spoke*, all the New Testament was written in Greek, then the common language of the East.

OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT.

Though the two covenants differ in language and form, yet in sentiment and substance they agree: they are in fact but two different parts of one and the same system, the former being introductory and preparatory to the latter*. So far is the Old Testament from being “contrary to the New, that in both, life everlasting is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and Man; and from obedience to the commandments of the law, which are called moral, no Christian is free †.” “What is the law,” says Justin Martyr ‡, “but the prediction of the Gospel? and what is the Gospel, but the law fulfilled?” “Things there prefigured,” says Austin, “are here performed.”

* “The law,” says the Apostle, “was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ.” Gal. iii. 24.

† Seventh Article of Religion.

‡ Τι γαρ εστιν ο νομος; ευαγγελιον προκηρυχθηναι. Τι δε το ευαγγελιον; νομος πεπληρωμενον. Quæst. & Resp. ci.

“Between the two Covenants,” says Chrysostom, “there is neither repugnance, nor contrariety of meaning; the difference is merely verbal*.—I have repeatedly said, that two Covenants, two handmaids, and two sisters, are the attendants on one Lord. Christ is announced by the prophets, Christ is preached in the New Testament. The Old declared beforehand the things of the New, and the New interpreted those of the Old†.”

Our Saviour “came not to destroy the law or the prophets: he came not to destroy, but to fulfil.” (Matt. v. 17.) He came and accomplished what was prefigured and predicted, he explained more fully the spiritual import of the *moral* law, corrected erroneous interpretations of it, and supplied whatever was imperfect. Thus the scheme of REDEMPTION mysteriously represented in the types and figures of the Old Testament, is more explicitly revealed in the New. The *morality* also of the Gospel requires higher degrees of excellence than were enjoined by the law, as it prescribes not only rectitude of action, but purity of principle, and forbids not only actual guilt, but all licentiousness of the thoughts

* Διαφορά μόνον ἐστὶν ὀνοματῶν ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις, ὃ μαχῇ, ὅδε ἐναντιώσις. *Hom. lib. vi.*

† Καὶ πολλὰς εἶπον, ὅτι δύο διαθήκαι, καὶ δύο παιδίσκαι, καὶ δύο ἀδελφαί, τὸν ἐνὰ δεσποτὴν δορυφοροῦσι. Χρῆστος παρὰ προφητὰς καταγγέλλεται, Χρῆστος ἐν καινῇ κερύσσεται. ————προέβαλε τὴν καινὴν ἢ παλαιὰ, καὶ ἡρμηνεύσε τὴν παλαιὰν ἢ καινὴν. *Hom. cxi.*

or passions.—It is therefore when the two covenants are viewed in connexion, the way in which they ought always to be viewed, that they will most clearly and forcibly exhibit their own excellence and utility.

ORIGIN OF READING PORTIONS OF SCRIPTURE
IN RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES ON THE SABBATH
DAY.

When the first portion of these inestimable volumes was given to the world, the divine author superadded a charge, to which it is as much the duty of Christians to attend, as it was theirs to whom the charge was immediately addressed. “This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth; but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayst observe to do according to all that is written therein: for then shalt thou make thy way prosperous, and then shalt thou have good success.” (Josh. i. 8.) And, in another part of these sacred books, we have a most elegant, and forcible description of the blessedness of the man, who uninfluenced by the example, and unseduced by the counsels of the wicked, shall place his affections on the divine law, and in that law shall meditate day and night. “He shall be like a tree,” says the inspired penman, “planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf shall

“ shall not wither, and whatsoever he doeth,
“ shall prosper.” (Ps. i.)

But notwithstanding the strict injunctions to meditate on the divine law day and night, and the blessings promised to those “ that should observe “ to do according to all things written therein,” we do not find that the public reading of it on the Sabbath Day formed any part of the Mosaic institution. Still, it seems probable, that beside those festivals when the law was expressly appointed to be publickly read, the Levites did at other times occasionally teach it to the people. We know that, in the reign of Jehoshaphat, Levites by his command went throughout all the cities of Judah and taught (2 Chron. xvii. 9.): and when we consider the scarcity of copies of the law, (for the Levites in this instance were obliged to carry the book with them,) the difficulty of multiplying copies, and the general inattention of the whole Jewish nation to the law, we cannot conceive how the people should acquire or retain any tolerable knowledge of it, except they were instructed oftener than once a year at the feast of tabernacles.

However this might be, the commencement of the practice of regularly reading portions of the law, as well as of interpreting what was read, appears to have been subsequent to the return from the Babylonish captivity. The most general opinion is, that during the abode of the people at Bablyon, their

their language was so far corrupted by conversing in a foreign idiom, that upon their return to their native country, few of them were able to understand the Text of their own scriptures. On this account it was ordained by Ezra, at the request of the people themselves, that the law of Moses should be publickly read, and expounded by Levites appointed for that purpose.

In the book of Nehemiah we have a particular account of the manner in which the law first began to be read and expounded in public: and unless we may except the dedication of the temple by Solomon, a more solemn and affecting ceremony is not recorded in the history of the Jews. “All the people,” (that is, if the words are to be understood in their utmost latitude, fifty thousand persons) “gathered themselves together as “one man, into the street that was before the “water-gate, and they spake unto Ezra the scribe, “to bring the book of the law of Moses, which “the Lord had commanded to Israel. And Ezra “the priest brought the law before the congrega- “tion, both of men and women, and all that “could hear with understanding, upon the first “day of the seventh month. And he read therein “before the street that was before the water-gate, “from the morning until mid-day, before the “men and the women, and those that could understand; and the ears of all the people were “attentive unto the book of the law. And Ezra “the scribe stood upon a pulpit of wood, which “they

“ they had made for the purpose, and beside him
 “ stood Mattithiah, and Shemah, and Anaiah,
 “ and Urijah, and Hilkiah, and Maaseiah, on his
 “ right hand; and on his left hand, Pedaiah, and
 “ Misrael, and Malchia, and Hashum, and Hash-
 “ badana, Zechariah, and Meshullam. And Ezra
 “ opened the book in the sight of all the people,
 “ (for he was above all the people) and when he
 “ opened it, all the people stood up: and Ezra
 “ blessed the Lord the great God: and all the
 “ people answered, Amen, amen, with lifting up
 “ their hands: and they bowed their heads, and
 “ worshipped the Lord with their faces to the
 “ ground. Also Jeshua, and Bani, and Sheribah,
 “ Jamin, Akkub, Shabbethai, Hodijah, Maaseiah,
 “ Kelita, Azariah, Jozabad, Hanan, Pelaiah, and
 “ the Levites caused the people to understand the
 “ law: and the people stood in their place. So
 “ they read in the book, in the law of God dis-
 “ tinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them
 “ to understand the reading.” (Nehemiah viii.
 1—8.)

Some Jewish writers are of opinion, that the
 origin of publickly reading the *law* on the Sabbath
 Day is of much greater antiquity than the date
 here assigned to it. Josephus, who no doubt de-
 livers the sentiments of his contemporaries, thus
 expresses himself. “ Moses, that he might not
 “ leave the Jews any pretext for ignorance, in-
 “ troduced an admirable mode of instruction.

The

“ The law, which they were bound to obey, was
 “ not simply read to them once, or twice, but
 “ he commanded them to leave their work every
 “ Sabbath Day, and to meet together to hear the
 “ law read. A circumstance in which all other
 “ legislators have been deficient *.”

Whenever *Josephus* speaks of things, which came under his own immediate knowledge, great respect is due to his testimony. But these, and such like sentiments, are calculated rather to flatter the national pride of the Jews, than to give us a fair representation of facts.† For where does it appear

* *Josephus* cont. Ap. l. ii. c. 17.

† *Philo* likewise, in a passage recorded by Eusebius, tells us, that the public reading of the law every sabbath day, was ordained by Moses. He goes farther, and describes the manner in which Moses commanded the law to be read and expounded on those days. From the words of *Philo* we may collect what was the general custom in the time of our Saviour, and when *Philo* lived; but they prove nothing more.—Videtur *Philo* Judæorum morem in synagogis differendi, antiquitate donare voluisse, quem a Christo, & apostolis observatum legimus. The remark of *Salian*, (Annot. A. M. 2546.) may, on this occasion, with equal justice be applied to *Josephus*. In the days of Moses there was no place set apart for religious uses but the tabernacle, and how the people that were dispersed through the country, could assemble every sabbath day before the tabernacle, (or temple afterward,) we leave *Philo* and *Josephus* to determine.—If the people met weekly to be taught the law, the *Levitical* visitation, instituted for that very purpose by *Jehoshaphat*, was unnecessary. (See p. 154.)—Had it been customary to read the law every sabbath day, could the religious prince *Josiah* be unacquainted

appear in the Mosaic law, that the people were commanded to meet together on the Sabbath Day for the purpose of hearing that law either expounded or read to them? The leading, direct, and positive injunctions, are, “ And these words
 “ which I command thee this day, shall be in thine
 “ heart; *and* thou shalt teach them diligently
 “ unto thy children. And shalt talk of them when
 “ thou fittest in thine house, and when thou
 “ walkest by the way, and when thou liest down,
 “ and when thou risest up. And thou shalt
 “ bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they
 “ shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. And
 “ thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy
 “ house, and on thy gates.” Deut. vi. 6—9.

So far as regards the duty of diligently studying the law, these expressions are indeed pointed and conclusive. But they go no farther than to enjoin, that masters of families were to meditate upon the law in private, that it was to be made a subject of conversation with their friends, and that they should be careful to teach it to their children and domestics. This is the *utmost* extent of the Mosaic injunction; and that it was received in any other sense no where appears from the history of the

quainted with the custom; or would he have regarded the discovery of a copy among the ruins of the temple, as a very extraordinary event? In short, if the law were then read every week to all the people, where was the occasion for “ gathering together the elders
 “ of Judah and Jerusalem,” for the purpose of reading in their ears all the words of the book? II. Kings, xxi. 11. xxii. 1. &c.

Jews.

Jews. In the reign of David, Solomon, and the succeeding kings, we have no account of any public meeting held on the Sabbath Day, for the purpose of hearing the law read, or of receiving religious instruction.

It is true indeed that Moses “commanded them, “ saying, at the end of every seven years, in the “ solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of “ tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear “ before the Lord thy God, in the place which he “ shall choose: thou shalt read this law before all “ Israel, in their hearing. Gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and “ thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they “ may hear, and that they may learn and fear the “ Lord your God, and observe to do all the words “ of this law; And that their children, which “ have not known any thing, may hear and learn “ to fear the Lord your God, as long as ye live “ in the land whither ye go over Jordan to possess “ it.” (Deut. xxxi. 10—13.)

Had Moses commanded the law to be read every Sabbath Day in public, the injunction to read it at the feast of tabernacles, and at the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, would appear to be less necessary. But the truth is, that no mention is made of the practice of reading the law on the Sabbath Day, prior to the return from the Babylonish captivity. After this era, we have already seen a very particular

cular account of the manner in which that custom was introduced. But it is not there, either stated or suggested to have been the continuance, or revival of an ancient custom. On the contrary, it seems to have arisen from the necessity of the case. The people were become unable either to read, or understand the original language of their own law; and therefore “the Levites read in the book, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the meaning.”

Either in the time of Ezra*, or soon after, synagogues were first erected; and one was built in every place, where there were ten persons properly qualified to attend the service. The qualifications were, that they should be free, and of competent age. From this period to the coming of Christ, the custom of reading and expounding the Scripture in the synagogues on the Sabbath Day, was strictly observed †. Yet during this interval, a remarkable change is said to have taken place. Hitherto the *Law only* had been read, and expounded in public.‡ About the year 170 before the

* See Prideaux, Old and New Testament connected.

† If we date this institution of Ezra, A. M. 3610, (Nehemiah c. viii.) that is, nearly 500 years before the first council of Jerusalem, St. James is warranted in affirming that “Moses of *old* time had in every city, them that preached him,” the law having then, for more than 450 years been “read in the Synagogues every sabbath day.” (Acts xv. 21.)

‡ For this purpose the Pentateuch was divided into 50 sections,

the birth of Christ. * Antiochus, surnamed the *Illustrious*, beside other acts of imperial cruelty and oppression exercised upon the Jews, prohibited the reading of the law in the synagogue. At the first promulgation of this edict, the Jews, who after the Babylonish captivity uniformly expressed, externally at least, the highest veneration for the

(or rather into 54, on account of the intercalary year) that the whole might be read over once every year. The Sections were distinguished, as they still continue to be, in the Hebrew copies, by the letter *Pe*, or *Phe*, the initial of *Pharasha*, which signifies separation, or division. This I apprehend was the original reason for adopting the inverted black P [¶] which is retained in our translation of the Bible to mark paragraphs or transitions. The division of the Old and New Testament into chapters is a modern practice, and the subdivision of chapters into verses still more modern: in the translation of the New Testament by Tyndal, and in the older editions, there are no verses. This subdivision of the New Testament was made by Robert Stephens, the celebrated printer, on a journey from Paris to Lyons about the year 1550.—The present mode of dividing the Scriptures, though attended with some disadvantages, affords easy reference to any particular passage; and upon the whole, is preferable to the more ancient custom of marking the columns of a page with the roman capitals, A, B, C, D, &c. It is observable that our Epistles and Gospels in the Communion Service, still remain, as the New Testament was printed in the reign of Edward VI., without the division into verses.

* In the space of three days he destroyed no fewer than 80,000 Jews: yet after proposed to become a Jew himself. For a more particular account of his persecution of the Jews, and profanation of their temple, of his own sufferings, loathsome disease and death, and of the *practices* of the Jewish priests to obtain the principality, or office of High Priest, see Josephus, *Antiq.* b. xii. and the two Apocryphal Books of Maccabees.

Mosaical law, were greatly distressed. They however soon discovered an expedient, by, which they contrived to evade the penalty annexed to the violation of the royal mandate, and still to have their scriptures read and expounded in the synagogue on the Sabbath day *. Instead of the law, they read such passages in the prophets as, either in a literal, or figurative meaning, most nearly resembled the lessons to which they had been accustomed. After the prohibition to read the *Law* was withdrawn, the reading of the *Prophets* was not discontinued. Their practice was to read and expound, first a portion of the law, and afterward a portion of the prophets. That this was the usual custom in the time of our Saviour's ministry upon earth, the words of the Gospel will prove. The voices of Moses and the prophets were then heard in the synagogue every Sabbath Day, (Acts xiii. 15. xv. 21.) and when our Lord had read a portion from the prophecy of Isaiah,

* Antiochus interdixit,— Ne Judæi sectionem legis in synagoga, publice prælegerent. Judæi, tristes propter hoc interdictum, omiserunt pro tempore lectionem legis sabbathinam: sed loco sectionum legalium, prælegerunt quasdam sectiones ex prophetis, respondentes materiæ, quæ in illis sectionibus legalibus continebatur.—

For instance, instead of the first section from Genesis, which treats of the creation of the world, they took a section from Isaiah, which refers to it, and read from c. xlii v. 5. to c. xliii. v. 11. In this manner they exchanged all the *legal* for *prophetical* sections. (Leusden. Philol. Heb. and Buxt. de Syn. Jud.) This rabbinical account is not, as I believe, confirmed either by *Maccabees*, or *Josephus*.

in

in his exposition he applied it to himself. (Luke iv. 21.)

Of the manner, in which the law and the prophets were then read in the synagogue, we have an account from Philo, preserved by Eusebius *. “What then did Moses order to be done on the Sabbath day? He appointed that we should all assemble in one place, and sitting together in silence and modesty, hear the law read †. This is done that none may remain ignorant of his obligation to observe it. The reader of the law is either a priest or an elder, who also expounds it. This office he continues till evening. The assembly then breaks up, having their minds improved, and their devotion invigorated, by the knowledge of the sacred law.”

Our Saviour, who never unnecessarily thwarted established forms, seems to have adopted this mode of teaching from the Jewish Scribes ‡. After the opening of his mission, “he entered into the
“synagogue, and into the temple, and taught,”

* Prep. Evan. lib. viii. c. 7.

† See note on this passage, p. 157.

‡ The law of Moses had made no provision for the public reading, and expounding of the Scriptures, and apparently in consequence of the regulation of Ezra, a new order of men was appointed, who were called Scribes, Γραμματεῖς, that is, men of letters, learned in the mosaical law. Though the office of the Scribe was distinct from that of the priesthood, yet the Scribes seem to have been selected chiefly from the tribe of *Levi*, and they were in general of the sect of the Pharisees.

as the Scribes had done. Yet there was something so new and singular, both in his doctrine, and manner of teaching, as to fill his hearers with surprise and admiration. When he first addressed his countrymen in the synagogue of Nazareth, “all wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.” (Luke iv. 22.)—In the sermon on the Mount, which may be considered as a complete specimen of his public preaching, we have a decisive proof, that if he copied the Scribes in their practice of teaching, he was at least original in his manner, and infinitely surpassed them, in the excellence of his doctrines. At the close of this discourse, the Evangelist adds, “And it came to pass when Jesus had ended these sayings, the people were astonished at his doctrine, for he taught them as one having authority, and not as the Scribes.” (Matt. vii. 28, 29.)

From our Saviour, the task of preaching the Gospel devolved upon the Apostles. At their first appointment to the office, their commission was limited. It extended only “to the lost sheep of the house of Israel,” to whom they were directed to go, and as they went, to “preach, saying, the kingdom of Heaven is come nigh unto you.” (Matt. x. 6, 7.)

After his resurrection, they were invested with a more extensive commission. “Go, ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;

“ Ghost ; teaching them to observe all things
“ whatsoever I have commanded you ; and lo, I
“ am with you alway even unto the end of the
“ world.” (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.)

Accordingly “ when the day of Pentecost was
“ fully come, and the promise of the Father”
fulfilled by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost
upon the persons of the Apostles, they entered
upon the arduous task of converting, and reclaim-
ing the world by the ministry of preaching. Early
on this very day, and at their first outset in general,
we find them proving and demonstrating, from
the law, from the Book of Psalms, and from the
Prophets, that the same Jesus, whom the Jewish
rulers had crucified and slain, was indeed the very
Christ. (Acts ii.) When the number of the
disciples was increased, they took a more ample
range in their discourses, and instead of confining
themselves to those passages, that contained proofs
of our Saviour’s mission, we find them, “ after
“ the reading of the law and the prophets,” ex-
horting the people, and instructing them in the
leading doctrines and duties of Christianity.

In the public assemblies of the first Christians,
it is probable that portions from the whole canon
of Scripture were occasionally read, and afterwards
explained. At this period the Books of the Old
Testament were the only canonical Scripture.
But as soon as the different parts of the New Tes-
tament were written and published, they likewise
were read in the church. Thus much, as I think,

may fairly be inferred from the writings of St. Paul. He solemnly charges the Theſſalonians “that his
 “epiſtle to them be read to all the brethren.”
 (Ch. v. 27.) And to the Coloffians he writes,
 “after this epiſtle is read amongſt you, cauſe
 “that it be read alſo in the church of the Laodi-
 “ceans.” (Ch. iv. 17.) Chriſtians have always
 had the Scriptures read in their religious aſſem-
 blies. To Moſes and the prophets, the primitive
 church added the Epiſtles and Goſpels.

Juſtin, who from a Platonic philoſopher, be-
 came a Chriſtian Martyr, has given a very valua-
 ble detail of the manner in which the Eucharift
 was adminiſtered, and other parts of public wor-
 ſhip performed in the ſecond century. Speaking
 of the Leſſons, and the practice of explaining,
 and applying them, he ſays, “On the day, called
 “Sunday, there is held a meeting in one place of
 “all the people, whether they dwell in towns,
 “or in the country; and the writings of the Apo-
 “ſtles and Prophets are read, as far as time and
 “opportunity permit. Then, after the reader
 “has finiſhed, he that preſides, addreſſes a diſ-
 “courſe to the people, in which he inſtructs
 “them, and exhorts them to imitate the goodly
 “things that have been read*.”

When the perſecution under Marcus Antoninus

* See his Second Apology towards the end. This Apology, to
 adopt the language of the times, is ſaid to have procured Juſtin
 “the crown of martyrdom.” According to ſome, he was executed
 ſoon after it was preſented to the Emperor.

(in which, among others, fell the venerable Polycarp, and the renowned Justin Martyr,) ceased to rage, the Christians in general, during the milder reign of Commodus, experienced a temporary respite. But towards the close of this century, after Severus was proclaimed Emperor, “Asia, “Egypt, and the other provinces were dyed with “the blood of martyrs *;” and the calamities of the Christians at this period probably gave birth to the apology of Tertullian. Describing the practices of Christians in *their* public assemblies, he says, “We meet together to hear the Holy “Scriptures rehearsed, according as the circumstances of the present times may require us to “forewarn, or to review. At all events, by the “Sacred Scriptures, we support our faith, exalt “our hope, and confirm our confidence. We “further enforce obedience to the divine commands by repeated instructions, by exhortations, “and by rebukes †.”

Both

* Mosheim's Ecc. Hist.

† Though this passage evidently proves that the Scriptures were read, and afterwards expounded, and applied, yet the full import of each particular word is not so easily ascertained. Whether *recognoscere* means “to review our own lives for the purpose of “correcting what may be found amiss,” or “to remind us of those “*trials*, which our Lord taught his disciples to expect, in order “that, like him, we may be prepared to meet them;” or whether it particularly denotes either of the two, I venture not to hazard even a conjecture. Other parts of the passage are not devoid of difficulty. Suspecting that I may have given an imperfect, or im-

Both the length * and number of the Lessons appear to have been different in different places. Sometimes a portion of Scripture, equal to three or four ordinary chapters, was recited as one Lesson †: and four, three, or at least two Lessons, were always read in the course of the service. Of these, some were taken out of the Old Testament, and some out of the New. To this general practice the ancient church of Rome afforded a singular exception. From old Roman ritualists, Stillingfleet has maintained that for upwards of 400 years after Christ, no part of Scripture was

proper, translation, I quote the words of the original from Rigault's Edition.—*Coimus ad literarum divinarum commemorationem; si quid præsentium temporum qualitas aut præmonere cogit, aut recognoscere: certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus—disciplinam præceptorum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura divina.*

* I do not mean to refer to the distinction made by Durantus, l. iii. c. 18, who says longer Lessons were appointed for the nocturnal, or antelucan office, and shorter for the other hours; for this distinction probably did not exist before the *canonical hours* were settled about the fifth century. The bishop or presbyter, who presided, sometimes appointed particular Lessons, and we have already seen that their length varied according to circumstances. See Justin cited p. 166.

† From the Introduction to one of Origen's Homilies, we learn that the Lesson on part of which he preached were chaps. 25, 26, 27, and 28, of the First Book of Samuel. This portion, he says, was too copious to be handled all at once, and therefore he confines his discourse to the last of these chapters, which relates a very remarkable passage of sacred history, the transactions at EN-DOR.—*Hom. de Engast.*

read

read in that church, but the epistles of St. Paul, and the four Gospels. Afterwards the Psalms, or, at least, selections from the Psalms, were recited; and, in process of time, Lessons taken from the Old and New Testament were introduced. This practice, Stillingfleet thinks was borrowed from the Gallic church, as other enlargements of the Romish offices confessedly were*.

In some countries only two Lessons were read, and they immediately followed the Psalms. This order, Cassian says, was so very ancient in Egypt, that it was not known whether the institution was of human, apostolic, or divine appointment: and he, with others, is disposed to attribute it to the ministry of angels. This practice was probably established by Cassian in some parts of the Gallican church; and when we consider the intimate connection that about this period subsisted between it and the British church, and the general uniformity of their institutions, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that from Gaul the custom was introduced into Britain.

In reading the Lessons, the early Christians had some peculiar customs, which it may be proper to notice. Before the reader began, sometimes the bishop addressed the people with this salutation, "peace be unto you." An assistant deacon

* Orig. Brit. c. iv. p. 217, &c. I own I doubt this account, as well as the assertion of Sozomen, (l. 7. c. 19.) when brought to prove that prior to the year 500, there were no Homilies in the church of Rome.

stood up, and with a loud voice said, "Brethren, let us hearken." The reader introduced the Lesson with these words, "Thus saith the Lord." In some places immediately before the reading of the Scriptures, it was customary for the people to wash their hands, a significant emblem of the "pure affection" with which we must hear and receive the word of God, if we expect to profit by its instructions, and are desirous to "bring forth the fruits of the spirit."

ORDER IN WHICH THE LESSONS ARE APPOINTED
TO BE READ.

That the Scriptures were commonly read not promiscuously, but in some certain stated order, is evident from the writings of many of the fathers, and more especially from those of Chrysostom.

In his Tenth Homily on the Gospel of St. John, he exhorts the congregation to read at home, in the course of the preceding week, such portions of this Gospel, as they knew would, on Sunday, be read, and expounded in the church.

The Lessons were followed by the Homily*, or Sermon, which generally was an explanation of some

* The name Homily comes from the Greek *ομιλία*, which, among the ecclesiastical writers, signifies an instructive discourse addressed to the people, whether extemporary, or read out of a book.—Olim hæc interpretatio ad populum non ex libro fiebat, sed vivâ voce. (Renaud. Lit. Orient. Tom. I. p. 204.) In the western church, these explanations were called *tractatus*, and the preachers

some passage, or portion, of the Scriptures that had been read in the service of the day.

The

preachers *tractatores*, from their *handling*, and expounding what had before been read in the Lessons. Origen expressly calls Sermons, *explanations of the Lessons*, (των εἰς τὰ ἀναγνώσματα διηγήσεων—Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii.) and such explanations are his Homilies, or Sermons, and many of those of Chrysostom and Austin. As for the *length* of their Sermons, they usually preached almost an hour; yet some of Austin's discourses in their present form might be delivered in less than fifteen minutes; and the greater part of Leo's in five, or six. The discourses of Chrysologus are remarkably short. Gregory the Great, in one of his Homilies on the Gospel for Christmas-day, observes, that since, by the blessing of God, the Eucharist would on that day be three times celebrated, (probably because the communicants were three times as many as the church could contain at once,) his discourse must be very short. When the Lessons consisted of several chapters, the preacher passed over some of the matter contained in them, and treated only of such parts as were most important. As for the manner of their Sermons, we may observe this method in the Homilies of Origen. He began with a short exordium, then explained verse after verse, or sentence after sentence, shewing the natural, and literal, signification of the words, and then their spiritual or mystical meaning, and concluded with a suitable application of the whole, "either by exhorting the
" people to the practice of piety and virtue, or dissuading them
" from irreligion and vice." (Orig. cont. Cels. l. iii.) They likewise accommodated their discourses to the capacities of their hearers. (*Ibid.*)

The ancient practice of explaining considerable portions of Scripture to the people was revived by our reformers. Before them, Colet had employed many years in publicly expounding all the epistles written by St. Paul. Archbishop Cranmer expounded Hebrews, as Bishops Hooper, Latimer, and Jewel, did Jonah, the Lord's Prayer, many of the Epistles, and all the Epistles and Gospels used in the Communion service on Sundays and holidays.

From

The writings of Austin evince, that, in his time, the church had certain fixed Lessons for *ordinary days*, and others for *festivals*. “You may remember,” says he to his audience, “that I have lately been treating of the Gospel according to John, as appointed to be read in the order of Lessons*. But at present, because solemn holidays intervene, for which proper Lessons are appointed, and on which no others must be used, I am under the necessity of interrupting the course I had begun. Though I suspend for a short time my exposition of that Gospel, it is not my design to relinquish it altogether.” This passage proves, that the practice of the church in the time of Austin, bears a strong resemblance to the regulations of the church of England, which has lessons read *in course* on ordinary days, and *proper* lessons for all Sundays and other holidays; and which likewise directs, that “whenever proper lessons are appointed, then the lessons of ordinary course shall be omitted for that time †.

“The ancient fathers,” as our church observes ‡,

From the practice of Ambrose, Origen, Chrysostom, and Austin, among the ancients, and of our reformers, and other more modern divines, we may with safety affirm, that explaining and applying portions of Scripture read in the Lessons, is a very beneficial mode of preaching to ordinary congregations.

* *Ex ordine lectionum—certas ex evangelio lectiones oportet in ecclesiâ recitari, quæ ita sunt certæ, ut aliæ esse non possunt.*

† Order how the Scripture is appointed to be read.

‡ Concerning the service of the church.

“ so

“ so ordered the matter, that all the whole Bible,
“ or the greatest part of it, should be read over
“ once every year; that the people, by daily hear-
“ ing of the Holy Scripture read in the church,
“ might continually profit more and more in the
“ knowledge of God, and be more inflamed with
“ the love of his true religion. This Godly and
“ decent order of the ancient fathers had,” as our
reformers complain, “ been so altered, broken,
“ and neglected, by planting in uncertain stories
“ and legends, with multitudes of responds, verses,
“ vain repetitions, commemorations, and syno-
“ dals, that not more than three or four chapters
“ of Genesis, or Isaiah, or any other book, was
“ commonly read, and all the rest left unread.”

To remedy these inconveniences there was drawn up at the reformation a calendar of lessons plain and easy to be understood. All legends*, and what-

* Legends in the Roman church are Lessons from the Breviary concerning the Saint, whose festival is celebrated. Though they were read chiefly on Saints' Days, yet almost every day being dedicated to some Saint, or other, and the office for the Saint's Day on all DOUBLES superseding the office for the Sunday, (excepting those of Advent and Lent, with Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday, which take place of doubles,) those legends generally made a part of the daily service. On the anniversaries of modern Saints, such legendary stories might naturally be expected. But there was introduced even into the history of the apostles themselves, an incongruous mixture of divine truth, and monkish fiction. A very few specimens will be thought sufficient for the reader, and perhaps too much for so solemn a subject. I shall therefore produce
only

whatever was untrue, uncertain, or superstitious, were omitted. Nothing was ordained to be read but the pure word of God, or that which is agreeable to the same, and all responds *, with whatever interrupted the reading of the Holy Scriptures,

only two, which occur at the commencement of the ecclesiastical year.

On St. Andrew's Day, the Legends represent the apostle addressing the cross on which he was to suffer, in the language of a monk. *Doctor bonus, et Amicus Dei Andreas, ducitur ad crucem; quam a longe aspiciens dixit—Salve crux, &c., and again, O bona crux, diu desiderata, solícite amata, & aliquando præparata, &c.; and again, O crux admirabilis, O crux desiderabilis, &c.* (See in the Roman, and Salisbury Breviaries, Lessons for Nov. 30.)

On Dec. 4. the Legends relate that the corpse of St. Bennet, being put into a boat frozen up in the river, thawed the ice, and without oars, or any human aid, sailed up the stream sixteen miles to the place of interment. Though the winter was severe, all the trees put forth blossoms, &c. — With such idle tales did the church of Rome once abuse the credulous, and superstitious multitude; that is, such as understood Latin. It should be remarked, however, that many of these ridiculous stories have been thrown out of the modern Breviaries, and more especially out of those used in some dioceses of the late Gallican church.

* A respond was introduced sometimes in the middle of a chapter. But no *respond* (or as the English Roman Catholics more properly say, *response*) was introduced in the middle of a Lesson, neither was it a hymn, nor any part of a hymn; though both of these propositions have been inadvertently laid down by writers on the English Liturgy. When a considerable portion of Scripture, equal, for instance, to a chapter of moderate length, was divided into several Lessons, read in one service, a short respond followed each, and thus interrupted the reading. At the close of the whole, longer responses were generally used.

were

were abolished. “ The Old Testament is appointed for the first *lessons* at Morning and Evening Prayer; so as the most part thereof will be read every year once, as in the calendar is appointed *.—And the New for the second lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and shall be read over orderly every year thrice, besides the Epistles and Gospels; except the Apocalypse, out of which there are only certain proper lessons appointed upon diverse feasts †.”

Here we must remark more particularly what was incidentally mentioned before, that the church of England in the appointment of lessons observes two different courses.—One for ordinary days, and another for holidays.

On ordinary days she begins the course of her first lessons with the book of Genesis in the beginning of her civil year; and proceeds regularly through the greatest part of the Bible. Isaiah alone is not read in the order in which it stands. The evangelical prophet, in conformity to primitive usage, our church reserves to be read in the season of Advent. Before Isaiah, and after the other ca-

* The original Rubric, which till the last review, remained unaltered, assigns the reason why the *most part only*, and not the *whole* is read. “ The Old Testament is appointed for the first Lessons at Morning and Evening Prayer, and shall be read through every year once, *except certain books and chapters, which be least edifying, and might be best spared, and therefore are left unread.*” Why was this Rubric thus curtailed and modified in 1661?

† Order how the Holy Scripture is appointed to be read.

nonical

nonical Scriptures, the church substitutes some Apocryphal lessons in the room of the canonical Scripture that has been omitted.

For it must be observed, that though “the most
“part of the Bible is read through every year
“once,” yet some chapters of particular books,
and three whole books, are left unread and unnoticed. What were the reasons, why these parts were omitted, I now proceed to enquire.

Of GENESIS, chaps. 10, 11, and 36, are not read. Chaps. 10 and 36 are excluded evidently because they contain little else than genealogies. But the first nine verses of chap. 11. give an account of a most extraordinary display of the Divine Power, the confusion of tongues at Babel; and it is not easy to assign a reason why the whole is omitted*. That it was not rejected from any exception to the passage of history, is clear; for this very part is received into the table of Lessons for holidays †.

Of EXODUS we read the first 24 chapters, excepting only some repetitions and genealogies that occur in the latter part of chap. 6. From ch. 25 to the end of the book, we find little that does not relate to the ark, and other local and

* Shorter and less important lessons are read. See the first Lesson at Morning Prayer, on Oct. 2.

† This chapter is read in course in the Episcopalian church of America, which has in general retained only such chapters and books as the compilers of her Liturgy found in our calendar. Chap. 11. stood also in the Scottish Liturgy.

temporary particulars, and these chapters are therefore properly omitted. But to this general observation, chaps. 32, 33, and 34, form an objection, and are accordingly read *.

LEVITICUS treats chiefly of Jewish sacrifices and ceremonial observances, of clean and unclean beasts and birds, of lepers, &c. Of this book we therefore read only four chapters, and two of the four, 18 and 20, were perhaps better omitted. They contain little more than a detail of the unlawful lusts, and impure practices of the Canaanites; and of such execrable vices, which were recorded by the Jewish Legislator, only that they might be prohibited, it may not, in a mixed congregation of Christian worshippers, be proper to speak. The humanity and benevolence displayed in chapter 25, breathe a truly evangelical spirit. Were this chapter, which is not read, divided into two Lessons, it might form an acceptable substitute for the two before mentioned †.

What was observed of Leviticus in general, is applicable to many of the chapters of NUMBERS, which are therefore omitted ‡.—Besides those already excluded from the public service, some others which are retained, being less interesting

* Chaps. 35 and 40 are likewise retained in the Scottish calendar.

† Besides chap. 25, the 9, 12, 16, 21, 23, 24, and 27, are retained in the Scottish calendar.

‡ The Scottish Liturgy has chaps. 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, as well as those we read.

to Christians, might without detriment be discharged from the calendar*.

All DEUTERONOMY is read, except chap. 23, against which there lies much the same objection with that made to 18 and 20 of Leviticus; and the other parts of the chapter record little more than Jewish observances †.

The history contained in JOSHUA, from chap. 11 to 22 inclusive, is not read. It treats of the destruction of petty kings: the passage of the Israelites into Canaan, and the division of the land among them. Yet chap. 11 certainly has full as fair a claim to admission into the calendar, as ch. 10. seems to have to the rank of a proper lesson. Nor do any sufficient reasons appear why chap. 22, and some others, are rejected ‡.

Both the Books of CHRONICLES are entirely excluded, probably because they principally consist of details of facts, which are in general more fully related in the preceding historical books. But in Chronicles there are various passages, well deserving of our attention, which are no where else

* For instances take 30 and 36.

† Deut. 14 does not appear in the Scottish calendar, though chap. 23 is there retained.

‡ Chaps, 14, 20, 22 stand in Sc. cal.

to be found, and might therefore with propriety be read*.

Chap. 2 of EZRA is a mere catalogue of names, and therefore properly omitted. Ch. 8 likewise to verse 15 contains a list of names. This was probably the reason why the whole has been rejected†. Ch. 10 is not read.

Of NEHEMIAH, chap. 3, 7, 11, 12, which consist only of the “names of them that builded the wall,” “registers of genealogies,” &c., having no tendency to Christian edification, are not read.

Chap. 10 of ESTHER was probably thought too short, and the matter not sufficiently important for a Lesson‡.

Of

* In the Scottish Common Prayer, 1 Chron. c. 10 is begun to be read instead of Apocryphal Lessons, at M. P. on November 23; and then 13, 14, &c. to 23, and 29. Of 2 Chron. 1, 2, 5, 6, &c. to 36, are read, which last is appointed for the Evening Prayer on December 16. On Dec. 17 at M. P. is read chap. 47 of Isaiah. This book is continued to the end of the month as in our calendar.—Neither does the Episcopalian church of America admit any part of the Apocryphal books into the table of ordinary Lessons. To supply the deficiency of first Lessons from canonical Scripture, the framers of her calendar have sometimes introduced chapters omitted in ours. But their general practice is to divide into two Lessons many of the longer chapters which we read as one. On holidays the Apocryphal Lessons, appointed by the church of England, are retained without variation.

† In Scot. cal. Ezra 7 is not appointed, but 8 and 10 are.

‡ In the Scottish calendar chaps. 9 and 10 make one Lesson, and

Of PROVERBS chap. 30 is the only one not read in the church. In it there occur a very few verses which render the reading of the whole less proper. If this was the reason of its being entirely rejected, the argument applies with much more force against some chapters already noticed. Among the ordinary Lessons at least, one would have wished that *Agur's confession and prayer* had been retained *.

The SONG of SOLOMON is totally omitted. The spiritual meaning of this most beautiful, but mysterious composition, exhibits, like psalm 45, the union that exists between Christ, and his spouse, the church, which numbers in a mixed congregation cannot be supposed to be capable of understanding †.

EZEKIEL is divided into 48 chapters, of which only 9 are read. For the numerous exceptions to this book we may assign the same reason, that is given for the omission of almost the whole book of revelation. To a considerable degree it consists of visions, the sense of many of which is confessedly obscure even to the learned; and beside this, some

this is almost the only instance where two chapters are thrown together. On the contrary, in our calendar the practice is not uncommon; and why it was not complied with here, no reason I apprehend can now be given.

* In the Scot. Lit. c. 30 is read.

† For reasons sufficiently obvious the Jews permitted the Song of Solomon to be read by none under thirty years of age.

chapters

chapters contain passages, which in their present literal translation, are improper to be recited in the public service. There is likewise in the style and language of Ezekiel, as well as in the subjects of which he treats, and the form in which his prophecy is presented, something, that occasionally makes this book less eligible for public reading, than those of the other prophets. There are however many chapters in Ezekiel, at present omitted in the calendar, which might without impropriety have been introduced, in the place of Lessons, which appear less deserving of the situation they now hold, more especially of some taken from the Apocryphal books*.—Excepting the omission of the greater part of Ezekiel, the whole of the prophetic books of the Old Testament are read through once a year.

From this cursory examination of the contents

* Besides the nine we read, (except 33) the Scot. cal. appoints 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, &c. to 25, the 35, 36, and 37, to be read.—It is not easy to assign any good reason why 20 and 24, which are appointed for *proper* Lessons on the 17 and 18 Sundays after Trinity, were overlooked in the revisions of the *calendar*: nor to account for *mattins* and *evensong* being suffered to remain standing at the head of the columns of proper Lessons for Sundays and holidays, when these terms had for more than a century prior to the last review, been disused in other parts of the Book of Common Prayer. Neither does “the annunciation of *our Lady*” in the table of Lessons, exactly correspond with the title prefixed to the collect, epistle, and gospel, for the same holiday. These trifling disagreements were, I presume, overlooked.

of the parts omitted, we in general discover very satisfactory reasons, why they were excluded from the calendar. And if in the course of the investigation, we have found some parts, not appointed to be read for the omission of which we cannot so easily account, we should reflect that the reformers and revisors could but exercise their best judgment and discretion: and though it would appear that less attention has been paid to the selection of Lessons from the Old Testament than to other parts of the service, yet the respect which in general we find due to the care and wisdom of the compilers and reviewers of our Liturgy, should lead us to suppose that they had reasonable grounds for these omissions.

OF THE FIRST LESSONS APPOINTED FOR SUNDAYS AND OTHER HOLIDAYS.

On Sundays and all the other days appointed to be kept holy *, the regulations of the church, respecting the *first* Lessons, vary, as we observed before, from the course pursued on ordinary days. As the Lessons in the calendar may be called ordinary or *common* Lessons, so those for Sundays and the other Holidays are called *proper*. The proper Lessons are upon the whole very judiciously selected. The most instructive chapters are ap-

* If we except Ash-wednesday, for which no proper Lessons are appointed, though it has proper psalms, and a proper collect, epistle, and gospel; with a special service.

propriated to Sundays, because the audience on these days is presumed to be the most numerous. And where the anniversary of an event, which has been predicted, is celebrated, the most striking prophecy relating to it, is commonly appointed to be read.

The church begins her ecclesiastical year with Advent. For the Sundays in Advent, after Christmas, and after the Epiphany, proper first Lessons are selected from *Isaiab*, who, on account of the clearness with which he has spoken of the Messiah, and the Gospel dispensation, is usually styled “the evangelical prophet.”

Upon Septuagesima, and the two following Sundays, and through the greater part of Lent, *Genesis* is read. This Book, which relates the fall, and its fatal effects, the corruption of the human race, and their consequent destruction, was probably thought best adapted to this penitential season. I have already had occasion to notice, that in the primitive church, *Genesis* was read in Lent.

Towards the approach of Easter, and on Easter-day, proper Lessons are selected out of *Exodus*, in which, under the figure of the deliverance of Israel from its bondage in Egypt, and by the institution of the passover, is represented our redemption from sin and death, by the sacrifice “of the lamb, slain from the foundation of the world.” (Rev. XIII. 8.)

The church then proceeds through the books

of the Old Testament in the order in which they stand, selecting such chapters as were thought most interesting and instructive *.

For Holidays, our reformers † have generally appointed proper first Lessons out of the books that may be called *moral*, out of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Apocryphal writings, Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom. Some of the Romanists had exalted the Virgin Mother above the Son of God ‡.

This

* No person professing the established doctrines of the church, can justly find fault with the order of our proper Lessons for Sundays, though it may be his opinion, that, if some of the historical parts were omitted, their loss might be amply compensated by introducing portions of Deuteronomy, Job, and the Prophets. This, according to my minutes, was the observation of Dr. Wheeler, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, in a lecture on the Psalms and Lessons, delivered in 1781.

† Proper Lessons for some *Holidays* were appointed in the first book of Common Prayer, though many of the Lessons that now appear in “the Table of proper Lessons on the *Holidays*” were omitted in both of Edward’s books. The proper Lessons for *Sundays* were first introduced soon after the restoration of the Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth.

‡ Alter error est, (says the honest Cassander, speaking of the opinions and practices of members of churches of his own communion) quod homines etiam non mali, certos sibi *sanctos*, tanquam patronos, & tutores delegerunt, in eorum meritis atque intercessione plus quam in CHRISTI merito fiduciam posuerunt, atque adeo, *unico illo advocacy CHRISTI officio obscurato*, SANCTOS, atque imprimis VIRGINEM MATREM in ILLIUS locum substituerunt. Imo non defuerunt viri etiam celebres, qui assererent id quod *Hester Assuero* promisit, (meaning what Ahasuerus promised to Esther, chap. v. 3.) se petenti dimidium regni daturum, in *Maria* completum esse.—

Hinc

This perhaps was the reason why Apocryphal Lessons were assigned to the purification, and annunciation of the Blessed Virgin.

It was probably upon similar principles that the first Lessons, directed to be read on the greater part of the Saints' Days, are taken from the Apocrypha.

When a Sunday and a Saint's Day coincide, we appear to be left in some degree of uncertainty, whether the first Lesson, together with the service for the Holiday, or that for the Sunday, is to be read. The consequence is, says Arch-deacon Sharpe *, "that the clergy differ in their practice, and use the service appropriate to that festival, to which in their private opinion they give the preference. Some chuse to intermix

Hinc illi tituli—*Regina cæli, vitæ, spes nostra, lux ecclesiæ, advocata, & mediatrix.* Quæ etsi commodam interpretationem admittant, ea tamen non semper omnibus, præsertim rudibus, & imperitis occurrunt.—Quid quod totum psalterium, sublato ubique *Domini* nomine, in nomen *Dominae* commutatum legitur? Quin et eo ventum est, ut etiam Christus jam in cælo regnans, matri subjiciatur: quomodo in nonnullis ecclesiis canitur,

Ora matrem, et jube filio,

Item,

O felix puerpera, Nostra pians scelera.

Jure matris impera Redemptori.

See *Consultatio Cassandri*, composed at the special request of the Emperors Ferdinand, and Maximilian II. Art. de intercessione sanctorum.

* Fourth visitation charge. p. 75.

them, using the collects appointed to each, and preferring the first Lesson for the Sunday, taken out of a canonical book, to that for the holiday, "if it happens to be appointed in the Apocrypha." Uniformity of practice was certainly intended by the church, and what now may seem to require the direction of a Rubric, or at least the decision of the Diocesan, our forefathers, in all probability, thought sufficiently plain. They knew that prior to the reformation, (admitting that the practice of England corresponded with that of the Roman and Gallican churches,) the service for all the Holidays now retained, being *doubles*, generally took place of that appointed for ordinary Sundays*: They would therefore naturally read the service for the Saint's Day, and omit that for the Sunday in general. This continues to be the practice of the Roman church, and it was the practice of the Gallican church for more than a century after the era of our reformation. In some parts of the late Gallican church a change took place about the beginning of the present century, and the service for the Sunday was appointed to supersede that for the Saint's Day. But in our church no such alterations have been made by lawful authority. Hence it would appear that the service for the Saint's Day, and not that for the Sunday, should be used.—And notwithstanding there exists some diversity of opi-

* See exceptions to the general rule in note p. 173.

nion on this subject, yet the *most general practice* seems to be to read the *Collect, Epistle and Gospel*, for the *Saint's Day*, and it is most consonant to that practice to read also the *first Lesson* appropriated to that day *.

From the first establishment of the Book of Common Prayer to the end of Edward's reign, there was an order of proper Lessons for some of the Saints' Days †, but no proper Lessons were then appointed for Sundays; the Sunday Lesson, like the Lessons for ordinary days, being read in course, and varying every year. Does it not from

* This remark I have heard made by the Lord Bishop of London.

† The proper Lessons were not originally arranged in a table, but the *Order* for proper Lessons at Mattins was prefixed, and that for those at evensong, annexed to the appropriate service at the communion. An example extracted from Edward's book will illustrate my meaning.

“ ALL SAINTS.”

“ PROPER LESSONS AT MATTINS.”

“ *The first Lesson* SAPI. III. unto Blessed is rather the barren.”

“ *The second Lesson*. Hebre. xi. xii. Saints by faith subdued, unto If ye endure chastising.

“ AT THE COMMUNION.”

“ Cantate domino, psalm 149. Sing unto the Lord a new song, &c.” This was the introit, after which were printed the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, as in our modern books. After the Gospel stood

“ PROPER LESSONS AT EVENSONG.”

“ *The first Lesson*. Sap. v. (unto) His jealousy also.” “ *The second Lesson*. Apoc. xix. (unto) and I saw an angel stand.” And thus all the other proper Lessons, then appointed, were *ordered*; those for the morning being noticed before the Introit, and those for the Evening after the Gospel.

this

this regulation appear, that a decided preference was given to the Saint's Day by the original compilers of our Liturgy? By the act of uniformity (*Prim: Eliz.*) Edward's book was revived, *with one alteration or addition of certain Lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year*; meaning the proper Lessons then first appointed for Sundays. But that, when a Sunday and a Saint's Day coincide, the Sunday Lesson was intended to supersede the Lesson appertaining to the Saint's Day, I have nowhere been able to discover.

OF THE SECOND LESSONS.

The Second Lesson at Morning and Evening Prayer is uniformly taken out of the New Testament. The Lessons of the New Testament are in general all of them every where proper*. When every

* It has already been remarked of the writings of Saint Paul, that, had they primarily been designed for the age in which we live, it is not easy to conceive how they could have afforded us much more general instruction. Yet small parts of one or two of them might be dismissed from the calendar, without detriment to religion. In 1 Cor. c. vii. he advises the members of the church of Corinth to refrain from marriage, upon the principle, that in those days, wives and families might have obstructed the spreading of the Gospel. The last chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, was no doubt highly interesting to the persons there mentioned, and to the church at Rome in general. But, as it contains comparatively little beyond
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every part is highly interesting and instructive, a selection of Lessons must be unnecessary. The church therefore on all the Sundays of the year, (except four, the Sunday before Easter, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday, which have proper Second Lessons) adopts the same method that she pursues on ordinary days.

Proper second Lessons are appointed for somewhat the greater number of the Holidays. But these Lessons, which either relate the circumstances, or apply the example, which gave occasion to the festival, are not numerous; and they seldom interrupt, except for the day, the orderly course of reading the New Testament. For all festivals that are fixed, and immoveable; and have *proper second Lessons* appointed, have no second Lesson assigned to them in the *calendar*.

In the morning we read the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, and in the evening the Epistles. We begin the year with the first of Matthew, and the first of Romans, so that exclusive of the Epistles and Gospels used in the communion service, the New Testament* is read over orderly three times a year in our daily Common Prayer.

a list of names, it cannot be very instructive to a modern congregation of Christians. *Memorand. of Dr. Wheeler's Lectures at Oxon.*

* Excepting the greater part of the book of Revelation, of which, on account of its mysterious obscurity, three chapters only are read in the church, 1, 19, and 22.

APOCRYPHAL LESSONS.

From the cursory investigation that was made into the contents of the chapters of the Old Testament, which are omitted in the calendar, we have seen that once a year, our church reads in her daily service the whole, or nearly the whole of the canonical Scripture, that is calculated to edify a mixed congregation. To supply what is wanting to complete the year, we read a part of Scripture which we acknowledge not to be canonical, out of the Apocrypha, or Apocryphal Books. Though this regulation has been repeatedly objected to by those who dissent from us, yet much may be said in its defence*.

The method taken by the church has not the remotest tendency to abate that peculiar veneration which is due to the canonical books. In her articles she explicitly declares the distinction that is to be made between Apocryphal and Canonical Scripture; and no Apocryphal Lesson is appointed

* On this subject the English reader may consult with advantage Hooker's Ecc. Polity, b. v., with Bp. Hoadley's reasonableness of conformity, and his defence. Some defenders of the ritual of the church have apologized for the occasional use of Apocryphal Lessons, by observing that they are admitted into the calendar only on some ordinary days in harvest time, when our congregations are thinnest. This argument, if true, is at best but a paltry subterfuge, which reflects little honour upon the memory of our reformers, and entails to us the imputation of a defect. It is noticed here only because it is too popular.

to be read in the service for Sundays. Again, many of the Apocryphal chapters are better calculated to inform the mind, and to excite devotion, in a popular congregation, than some of the canonical chapters, which, because they are less important to Christians, or less intelligible to persons of ordinary capacities, are omitted in the calendar.

By the ancients, these were sometimes styled *ecclesiastical* books, having been compiled, and published for the edification of the pious, and being commonly read in the church. Sometimes they were called *Apocryphal*, and sometimes *Canonical* Scripture. But the former term, when applied to these writings, is to be understood, not as declaring them to be spurious; and the latter must be taken, not in its strict and technical, but in a lax extended sense, for their best advocates allow them no authority in matters of faith*.

That

* *Αποκρυφος* signifies *hidden, secret*. Whether these books were called *Apocryphal*, from the writers of them being unknown, from the authority of the books being uncertain, or from their not being read in all places in public, and being thus, as it were, *concealed*, or for any of these reasons, is not, I apprehend, determined.—Ruffinus (in *Expof. Symb.*) distinguishes between Canonical, Ecclesiastical, and Apocryphal books. He calls those Ecclesiastical, which, as well as the Canonical, are read in the church, but are not produced to establish any article of faith. By Apocryphal he and others mean those which were spurious, or composed by heretics, and were not to be read by Christians. Others mention only

Cano-

That they were read in the ancient western church, as works of religious and moral instruction, Jerom, and his antagonist Ruffinus, with Athanasius, Austin, and others testify. In the *Lectionarium Gallicanum*, (or the order of lessons in the Gallican church) a work of great antiquity, Lessons are appointed out of the Apocryphal books; from whence the practice was probably introduced into Britain.

With the words of the church of England, whom we shall generally find to be the ablest apologist for her own regulations, and who must be admitted to be the best judge, and is certainly the properest interpreter of her own intentions, I shall conclude what I have to say on the subject of Apocryphal Lessons.—Besides the canonical books

Canonical and Apocryphal books; some mean by the latter term, human compositions proper to be read for public instruction. Others apply the word *Apocryphal* as Ruffinus did, to dangerous forgeries and heretical productions. In this sense the ancients are commonly to be understood, when they say that Apocryphal (i. e. spurious and heretical) books are not to be read.

The third council of Carthage (A. D. 397) calls Wisdom Ecclesiasticus, &c., *Canonical Scripture*. Austin, and other writers of the West, do the same. But few of them meant *Canonical* to be understood in the strictest sense of the term. The books were *Canonical*, or *regular*, so far as they were read, for the edification of the people; but they were not esteemed to be of *Canonical* authority in adjusting articles of faith. See Bingham, b. xiv: and Suicerus, words *αποκρυφος*, *γγραφή*, and the respective titles of the Apocryphal books.

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“ the other books, as Jerom* saith, the church
“ doth read, for example of life, and instruction
“ of manners; but yet doth not apply them to
“ establish any doctrine.” Artic. vi.

HYMNS AFTER THE FIRST LESSON.

In the circle of Christian duties, there is none more delightful, none more generally necessary †, than that of praise. As God in every thing shews mercy, so must we “ in every thing give thanks,
“ (1 Theff. v. 18.) teaching and admonishing one
“ another in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,
“ singing with grace in our hearts unto the Lord,”
(Col. iii. 16.) Hymns of praise are peculiarly be-

* The words that are in the article, Bishop Burnet, in his exposition of the sixth article, says, are repeated by Jerom in several of his prefaces; but he cites no place where they occur. The passage to which the compilers of the article appear to refer, is the following—Sicut ergo Judith, & Tobi, & Machabæorum libros legit quidem ecclesia, sed inter canonicas scripturas non recipit, sic & hæc duo volumina, (meaning the book of Jesus the son of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, and the Wisdom of Solomon, which he had mentioned before, and here refers to) *legat* (some copies read *legit*) ad ædificationem plebis, non ad auctoritatem ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.—Præf. Hieron. ad Lib. Salom.—Ed. Benedict. Tom. I. p. 938, 9.

† Concordat *omnium* sensus, ut non desinamus circa Dei laudes, sive hymnum dicendo, sive divinam per omnia momenta gloriam concinendo. Amb. in Ps. xliii.

coming in the house of God : and from the days of our Saviour and his Apostles to the present times, the recitation of songs of thanksgiving has ever constituted one principal part of the public worship*.

Besides the psalms, and the sacred writings, hymns of human composition were admitted into the public service†. Such, in all probability, was

* Concerning the use of psalms and hymns in the church, we have, says Austin, the examples and precepts of Christ and his Apostles. (Ep. cxix.) Chrysostom observes on Matt. xxvi. 30, that Christ and the Apostles sung a hymn, to teach us to do the same.

† Philo testifies that it was customary among the Christians to compose hymns, and to sing them in the church. (Lib. de sup. Virt.) Ambrose, Hilary, and others, composed various hymns, which were recited in the service of the church, and though Austin objects to some of the hymns of the *Donatists*, and their improper manner of reciting them, yet he himself compiled for the use of the common people a psalm of many parts, in some respects resembling the cxix. When afterwards in Spain, some objected against the practice of admitting hymns of human composition, the fourth council of Toledo (held A. D. 633) confirmed the established usage, maintaining that the innovators might as reasonably refuse to admit *Gloria Patri* as these hymns; and threatening with excommunication, all who should dare to reject the hymns appointed. The council of Laodicea (held A. D. 361) forbids the use of *private hymns*, (*ιδιωτικοι*) that is, such as were heterodox, apocryphal, or not admitted by competent authority. In this prohibition the church of England joins, whatever they may think who introduce into the public service, such hymns, and poetical compositions, as are truly exceptionable for other reasons, beside their not being recognised in the book of Common Prayer. Several and valuable collections of psalms and hymns have been made, but a complete selection for general use, is, perhaps, a *desideratum*.

the

the hymn, which a Roman historian and inquisitor informs us, the Christians of the first ages, “in their antelucan assemblies, addressed to Christ as God*.”

From ancient canons and authentic records it appears, that hymns were intermingled with the other parts of the service, and in particular, that after the reading of a portion of the Old and New Testament, a psalm or hymn was usually sung. Now this is the very order which the church of England observes in her service. Both in her Morning and Evening Prayer, she appoints a hymn to be used after the first Lesson, and another after the second.

By this grateful variety the mind of the devout worshipper is secured against distraction, relieved from languor, and enabled to proceed with attention and fervour. We have additional, and even stronger reasons, for admiring the arrangement made by our church. Though it be admitted, that the table of Lessons in the calendar, as well as those for the Sundays and Holidays, may in some few instances be capable of emendation, yet we ask, what chapter is there of Holy Scripture, at present appointed for a Lesson, which does not exhibit some reason for thanksgiving and praise? Whether it instructs, or reproves, whether it exhorts to duty, or dissuades from sin, whether

* Quod soliti essent, statò die, ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo, quasi Deo, dicere secum invicem. (Plin. l. x. Ep. 97.)

it consists of threats and promises, whether it furnishes precepts or examples, it is with propriety succeeded by a hymn of praise.

After the first Lesson the church of England has supplied her members with two admirable hymns, the choice of which is left to the discretion of the minister. The first of these is called,

TE DEUM LAUDAMUS,

from the three initial words of the Latin *, in

* Should another revival of our Liturgy ever take place, it may then probably be thought expedient to expunge all Latin words from the Rubrics, and all Latin titles of psalms and hymns. Our reformers might have good reasons for originally retaining the *Latin* appellations, *Venite Exultemus, Te Deum Laudamus*, &c. These shewed that the service in English was not entirely a new service; but, in the language of Edward's message to the Devonshire rebels in 1549, "the self same words in *English*, which were in *Latin*;" "saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame" "to have heard them in English, as all they can judge, which list" "to report the truth. If the service was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English. As for the service in the *English* tongue, there is manifest reason for it."—But these reasons for retaining *Latin* names have long ceased to exist. The hymn beginning, *We praise thee, O Lord*, would convey to the greater part of our people the idea of the hymn before us, better than the hymn called, *Te Deum Laudamus*. Should not the names and titles of each particular part of the service, like the whole service itself, be expressed in our own language? If, from what our reformers did, we may judge what they would have done, had they lived in the xviiiith century, must we not conclude, that every appendage of the Common Prayer of the church of England would have now appeared in English?

which

which language it was originally composed. In English they are translated, *We praise thee, O God.*

Though the superior excellence of this hymn is indisputable, yet it must be acknowledged, that on few subjects have the sentiments of the learned been more divided than on this question, By whom was the hymn composed?

The most ancient opinion, and that which *has been* the most universally received, is, that it was the joint production of Ambrose and Austin. The circumstances of its extraordinary origin are thus related. At the baptism of the celebrated convert, Austin, which office was performed by Ambrose in the presence of all the faithful in the city, after the ceremony, and before their ascent out of the water, Ambrose uttered the first versicle of *Te Deum*, saying, *We praise thee, O God.* Austin immediately replied, *We acknowledge thee to be the Lord.* Ambrose proceeded, *All the earth doth worship thee, the Father everlasting.* Austin rejoined, *To thee all angels cry aloud, &c. &c.* And in this manner, whilst they remained standing in the waters of baptism, Ambrose and Austin miraculously composed, and alternately sung the whole hymn, as the spirit gave them utterance.

However incredible this account may appear, it is gravely repeated by Durandus* and others,

* Durandus probably adopted it from *the Chronicle of Datius*, a work purporting to be the production of Datius, one of the suc-

others, and was for many ages implicitly received. It is here noticed, merely for the purpose of shewing that the ancient and present division of the sentences of Te Deum do not exactly correspond, and of pointing out where the difference lies.

This hymn has likewise been ascribed to Ambrose alone, to Hilary, and to Jerom.—That it was not the production of Hilary, or Jerom, is now universally admitted. And they who attribute it to Ambrose, if they do not found their opinion, at least rest their proof upon the evidence of the Acts of a council *, which however are not conclusive on the point. The words of the council simply state a fact, generally known, that Ambrose and Hilary composed hymns, which were recited in the church. Of this particular hymn no mention is made; and if there had, the hymn might still be as fairly ascribed to Hilary as to Ambrose.

cessors of Ambrose, in the See of Milan. This Chronicle, as Menardus has shewn, contradicts the authentic writings of Austin, and Possidonius: and by Mabillon it has been proved to be a spurious publication, fabricated 500 years after the death of its pretended author. The learned men of Milan deny, says *Gavantus*, that there is any such thing as a Chronicle of Datius among them; and to Mabillon's enquiries about it, they answered that the book with this title was written by other authors. V. Menard., Mabill. *Analecta Vet.*, and Stillingfleet's *Orig. Brit.*—*Durandus* was one of the latest of the more celebrated scholastic divines; he flourished at Paris, about the year 1320, and was surnamed *Doctor Resolutissimus*, the most resolving Doctor.

* Con. Tol. 4. A. D. 633.

The Parisian editors of the works of Ambrose, printed in 1549, persist in the ancient opinion, for which they give us, in the place of argument, a confident assertion*; but the more judicious Benedictine editors acknowledge, that Ambrose was not the author of the hymn in question.

Whoever will compare *Te Deum* with the hymns admitted to be Ambrose's will, in my opinion, find himself in possession of strong internal evidence, that it was not composed by the author of them.

The structure of Ambrose's sentences, the regular measure of his verse, and the uniform period recurring at the end of every four line, exhibit specimens of composition, all widely different from that of *Te Deum*. The most general measure of the hymns of Ambrose is the Iambic-tetrameter †. But *Te Deum* is not composed in verse, neither is the original prose remarkable for

* Pro catastrophe totius texturæ operum visum est subnectere canticam illud *ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ*, *Te Deum Laudamus*, *quod velint, nolint nostræ ætatis academici* (alluding to the opinion of the great Erasmus) *alternis cecinere Ambrosius et Augustinus*.—Elenchus following the title page, Tom. I.

† Ambrosiani eo maxime currunt—(*Bede de re metrica*, prefixed to Hymn. Eccles. by Cassander.) Among the Ambrosian hymns, says Stillingfleet, *Te Deum* is not reckoned by Cassander, neither is it of Ambrosian composition. (Orig. Brit. c. iv.) The hymns of Ambrose were so celebrated, that ecclesiastical hymns in general were called *Ambrosiani*.

its melody, though the structure of the sentences may be well adapted for chanting.

The style of the hymns attributed to Ambrose is certainly pretty. They possess something of Ovid's neatness and fancy; but have likewise too often Ovid's fault of quaintness and conceit. — The language of *Te Deum* is simple and majestic. In it we recognise the sublimest passages of the Prophet Isaiah, the grandest truths of the Gospel history, and the most pathetic supplications that are to be found in the Book of Psalms.

In two ancient manuscripts, an old collection of hymns and an old psalter, Arch-bishop Usher* found *Te Deum* ascribed to Nicetus, Bishop of Treves, who, as Stillingfleet†, Cave‡, and the learned in general, think, composed this hymn for the use of the Gallican church. He flourished about A. D. 540, nearly 100 years after the death of Ambrose§. From this period *Te Deum* is often mentioned, and the use of it is repeatedly prescribed. But before this era, it is confidently affirmed that the hymn was not noticed by any

* Usher de Symb. p. 3.

† Orig. Brit. c. 4.

‡ Ambrosii esse nullo idoneo testimonio probari potest, et *fabulam* pro origine habere videtur. Hist. Lit. Vol. I. in Vit. Ambros.

§ He was made Bishop of Treves 527, and died in 568, having been present at four Gallican councils.

writer of credit * : This affords at least strong presumptive evidence, that it was not extant in the time of Ambrose.

Whoever was the author of Te Deum, its excellence is surpassed by no human composition. Indeed the composition alone is human, the materials are of divine original.—Ever since its introduction into the offices of the church, which took place in the sixth century, it has deservedly been held in the highest estimation. And the venerable compilers of our Liturgy have with great propriety retained this hymn in the daily Morning service †.

* Menard. in Greg. Sac. & Stilling. Orig. Brit. c. iv.

† It was the complaint of Dr. Bennet, and is still to be lamented, that in the use of this hymn many are exceedingly careless. Some repeat it with so little attention and zeal, that they seem neither to regard what they say, nor to consider to whom the hymn is addressed. The language, he observes, is wonderfully sublime and affectionate, and we cannot utter any thing more pious and heavenly. Let our souls be warmed with correspondent affections. Let us mentally speak the verses, which we do not pronounce with our lips, and make the whole hymn one continued act of ardent and intense devotion.—And let me entreat, continues Dr. B. my brethren of the clergy not to begin this hymn too hastily. After they have said, *here ends the first Lesson*, let them make a small pause, till the people have time to rise from their seats, and compose themselves for the recitation of this solemn hymn; that they may not be hurried and disordered, but may leisurely attend the minister's beginning it, and be ready themselves to begin it with him. After each of the Lessons both in Morning and Evening service, the same method should be observed, before the beginning of any other hymn, or psalm. *Paraphrase on the Common Prayer.*

Of

Of the various excellences of *Te Deum*, its methodical composition is not the least considerable. It is divided into three parts, each in its *original* form, composed of ten versicles. In its present state it is observable, that there is an odd versicle, and that the first part consists only of nine; for the versicles which were formerly the first and second, have since been united into one*.

The first part is an act of praise, or an amplified Doxology.

The second, a confession of the leading articles of the Christian faith.

The third contains intercessions for the whole church, and supplications for ourselves.

The nine introductory versicles, which anciently were ten, are entirely eucharistical, consisting of praise. Having heard the promises, or threats of the Almighty, and persuaded by the precepts, or warned by the examples, contained in the first Lesson, we begin this hymn with praising the inspirer of the sacred volume from which the Lesson is extracted.

1. We first express our gratitude to God, and acknowledge his supreme authority over all his creatures. 2. To heighten our devotion, we turn our eyes towards the rational part of his creation upon earth, who in general we presume, as well as

* See page 197 of this Volume.

ourselves,

ourselves, daily perform this solemn duty. 3. We then direct our attention to the inhabitants of Heaven, one principal part of whose employment, and one chief source of whose happiness, we are taught to believe, is to glorify God's holy name.

4. This hymn not only opens to us a view of Heaven, but with the evangelical prophet (Isa. vi. 3.) and beloved disciple (Rev. iv. 8.) it carries us thither, to behold the various orders of angels, cherubim, seraphim, and all the heavenly powers. 5. In honor of the glorious trinity, they continually sing, "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts, the whole earth is full of thy glory:" In which divine hymn they acknowledge God to be Jehovah-Sabaoth *, or the original author and absolute governor of all powers both in heaven and earth—6, 7, 8, 9. The hymn proceeds to invite us to join with the angelic Host, with the prophets, apos-

* *Sabaoth* is the plural number of a Hebrew word, and signifies armies, or hosts, as it is commonly rendered in the translation of the Bible. To this term, which here remains untranslated, it is to be feared the greater number in our congregations, affix either no idea, or an erroneous one. In the recitation of *Te Deum*, I have formerly often heard it pronounced exactly as we pronounce the word *Sabbath*. It is certain that, at an *advanced* period of life, the master of one of the first free grammar schools in the northern counties, a graduate of Oxford, and a man of considerable learning, acknowledged that he had *lately* discovered, that *Sabaoth* in *Te Deum* was a word of different signification from the *Sabbath* of the Jews. Though the fact is questionable, and, as I suspect, not true, yet the report has been current, that the author of the English Dictionary was, for several years, not exempt from the same mistake.

cles,

tles, and martyrs, in praises to God now, as we expect to be united with them in glory hereafter.

The ten following versicles, which compose the second part of the hymn, are a confession of faith, each article of which contains an additional motive to praise God.

The Angels and glorified spirits see God face to face. As we behold his glory only by the eye of faith, we cannot better set forth his praise, than by giving our unfeigned assent to his revelation, and by professing our faith in him, whom the Host of Heaven worship and adore. 10. As members of the holy Catholic church, we acknowledge the ever-blessed Trinity, 11. the infinite majesty of the Father, 12. the honor due to his only begotten Son, our Lord and Saviour, 13. and the divinity and personality of the Holy Ghost, our advocate in Heaven, our comforter on earth. 14. More especially we address ourselves to our Redeemer, and as he is very God of very God, we acknowledge him to be the King of glory, a title appropriated to the Lord of Hosts alone. 15. We declare, that he is the everlasting Son of the Father, not created as angels, nor adopted as men, but by eternal generation * begotten of the Father, with whom he is coeternal and coequal. 16. The hymn proceeds to celebrate his mercies, and with

* The ingenious arguments of Mr. Hawtrey have not convinced me that the ΛΟΓΟΣ was not ΥΙΟΣ, prior to his incarnation.

joy and thankfulness declares that, when he undertook to deliver us from death eternal, and to accomplish our redemption, he disdained not to be conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, to partake of the same nature, and to become subject to the same infirmities with ourselves. 17. Being thus God and man, he submitted to the cruel death of the cross, and by dying for us overcame death, and disarmed it of the sharpness of its sting. By his meritorious sufferings he has procured for all true believers, admission into the kingdom of Heaven, from which they were excluded by their own sins, as well as through the transgression of their primitive father. 18. Our blessed Redeemer, as the reward of his obedience, sits on the right hand of God. He has already, in his human nature, taken possession of the kingdom of glory in the name of all his faithful followers, and dispenses it to all that believe in him. 19. From this height of glory, we believe, that he, the man Jesus Christ, will come to be our judge; and if we honestly endeavour to conform our lives to his Gospel, our very judge, who is now our mediator and intercessor, will be our advocate and friend.

20. Here our thanksgiving and confession of faith are naturally turned into prayer.—Having contemplated the Saviour of the world, in his eternal glory, and in his state of humiliation and exaltation, we intercede for all the people of God, imploring internal assistance, and everlasting salvation;

vation: We beseech him to help them with his grace, and to enable them to perform their duty upon earth, and, 21. finally by his infinite mercy, to admit them to be numbered with those departed Saints, whom he has already received into his rest, and will reward with his glory. 22. That we may be assured of obtaining this heavenly inheritance, we entreat him to save his people from all evil, and bless his peculiar heritage, the Christian church. 23. We beseech the shepherd of our souls to guide and direct us, whenever we err and stray, and when we stumble, and are liable to fall, to lift us up, to strengthen and support us against our spiritual adversaries.—24. This protection and support for ourselves and others, we solicit with humble confidence, because agreeably to God's will and our duty, we daily magnify his name in hymns, and, 25. worship him constantly in our prayers. 26. Sensible of our own infirmities, and assured that praise is not acceptable from the lips of sinners, we pray that we may be kept this day from committing sin; that temptation may neither deprive us of the benefit of our present devotions, nor indispose us for the return of duty on the following morn. 27. We know, that our transgressions are numerous and grievous. We therefore beseech Christ not only to preserve us from falling into sin, but also to forgive our past offences. We beseech him to look on our frailty and strengthen us; on our guilt
and

and pardon us. We therefore reiterate our fervent petition, have mercy upon us. 28. Unless we find mercy for our past sins, we must be condemned, and except we obtain the grace of future assistance, we shall be overcome by our spiritual adversaries: we therefore pray the third time, that his mercy may lighten or fall upon us, and that it may comfort and invigorate us. Here we plead not our merits, but our distress. On ourselves and all sublunary power we renounce dependence. Our confidence and trust we place only in his mercy and truth. 29. He who is faithful and just has promised, that he will save those who put their trust in him. We therefore conclude this hymn in the words of the Psalmist, expressing our hope, that we are in the number of those that trust in him, and our confidence that we shall not eventually be ashamed, confounded, or disappointed of our hope.

It has been asked why *Gloria Patri*, the Doxology so often repeated by the church of England, is not appointed to be said after this hymn? We reply, that the hymn itself is an amplified Doxology.

BENEDICITE.

The second hymn after the first Lesson is called
the

the canticle, *Benedicite, omnia opera Domini Domino*, from the words with which it begins in Latin. In English we should say the canticle, or song, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord*. It is also called *the song of the three children in the burning fiery furnace* *. This hymn the early Christians, in all probability, adopted from the Jewish church. From Cyprian † and Ruffinus ‡ it appears, that the hymn of the three children was generally sung by confessors, martyrs, and all members of the Christian communion. This hymn is found in the Apocryphal part of Daniel, yet Ruffinus maintains against Jerom, that it is a portion of Holy Writ. St. Cyprian calls it divine Scripture. Theodoret explains it in his comment on Daniel. Athanasius § recommends it in private devotion, and the fourth council of Toledo || enjoined it to be used in the Spanish churches, alledging as a reason, that it was sung all over the world. St. Chrysostom ¶ had before made the same observation, describing this as a hymn every where sung throughout the world, and which would continue to be sung by latest posterity. In

* See Apocrypha.

† Cyp. de Orat. Dom.

‡ Ruff. Inveſt. in Hieron.

§ Athan. de Virg. vel.

|| Hymnum in quo univerſa cœli, terræque creatura Deum collaudat, et quem eccleſia Catholica per totum orbem diffuſa celebrat, &c. C. 13.

¶ Ὡς ὁ παταχὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀδομεῖται, καὶ ἀσφῆτομένην εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα γενεάς.

the Gallic Lectionary *, it is appointed to be sung after the reading of the Prophets, much in the same manner, as it is here ordered to be said or sung after the reading of the first Lesson. Though by our church it is not admitted to be either an inspired composition, or canonical Scripture, yet it is a very pious, as well as ancient form of praise, and well adapted to the purposes of devotion.

The objections made to this hymn, that we address angels, and holy men, and even the inanimate parts of the creation, are frivolous and groundless. Every person, in the smallest degree conversant with the inspired writings, knows, that in them, and particularly in the Psalms, such apostrophes frequently occur. And this very hymn is little more than a paraphrase, or amplification of the 148th Psalm, with which it corresponds in substance, and nearly in terms. In both compositions all creatures, in the invisible and visible world, are called upon to unite in one general chorus of praise to their Almighty Creator.

As this hymn is sufficiently plain, and seldom repeated in the public service, more particular exposition is unnecessary. I shall therefore only observe, that where the first Lesson treats of the creation, or any extraordinary exercise of God's power or providence, Benedicite might with propriety and advantage be adopted in the place of Te Deum.

* Mabillon de Lit. Gall. Lib. II.

In the first book of Edward VI. *Te Deum* is appointed to be “read in English daily throughout the year, except in Lent, during all which time in its place shall be used, *Benedicite omnia opera Domini Domino*, in English.” This Rubric was altered in the second book, and the choice has ever since been left to the discretion of the minister.

HYMNS AFTER THE SECOND LESSON.

After the Second Lesson at Morning Prayer, the church has also provided two hymns, the choice of either of which is, as before, left to the minister. The former is entitled

BENEDICTUS,

because, in the Latin version, it begins with that word. Did we use English terms, we should call it the hymn, beginning *Blessed be the Lord God*. Zacharias, at the circumcision of his son, John the Baptist, “was filled with the Holy Ghost and prophesied,” expressing himself in the words of this hymn, (Luke i. 67.) For the redemption of the world by the incarnation of the Son of God, of whom John was the fore-runner, it breathes the warmest language of gratitude and praise. It is therefore properly placed after the Second Lesson, which being always selected either from the Gospels or the Acts of the Apostles, necessarily exhibits some portion of the history of our redemption. The angel, who first published
the

the good tidings of great joy to all people, was suddenly joined by “a multitude of the heavenly
“ host praising God, and saying, Glory be to God
“ on high, and on earth peace, good will towards
“ men.” Thus, when the minister has recited a part of these good tidings from the Gospel, we receive them with joy and thankfulness, and unite with him in praising God. We adopt the words of Zacharias and say, “Blessed be the Lord God
“ of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his
“ people.”

The whole of the hymn, however, having been uttered upon a peculiar occasion, and under extraordinary circumstances, and the latter part being addressed to the infant baptist in particular, and referring solely to his immediate office, it may be fairly considered as less adapted to general use than some others, and on this account probably, it is seldom read after the Second Lesson. In its place therefore with the greatest propriety, we generally use the hundredth psalm, called

JUBILATE DEO,

from its initial words in the Latin version, or in English, “O be joyful in the Lord.” Its Hebrew title is, *A Song of Praise*. It is said to have been composed by David upon occasion of a public thanksgiving, and was sung by the Jewish church at the oblation of the peace-offering, as the priest was entering into the temple. And immediately after hearing the Gospel of peace, it is a form of

praise perfectly suitable to every Christian assembly. For the divine attributes here celebrated, gracious goodness, everlasting mercy, never-failing truth, and parental care, are in the Gospel most fully displayed.

This hymn was first added to our Morning Prayer in the Second Book of Edward VI.

THE CREED,

COMMONLY CALLED THE APOSTLES' CREED.

This Creed is a summary of articles of faith, expressing concisely and comprehensively the doctrines held to be essentially necessary to everlasting salvation.

The Holy Scripture, being the revelation of divine truth, and containing every thing necessary for a Christian to believe, may in a more extended sense be called our Creed. But since the Scriptures, besides the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, comprehend also a great variety of truths of less importance, it became expedient for the church to frame a compendium of the articles of indispensable belief, which might be readily learned, easily understood, and effectually retained by each of its members.

To these articles of our belief we give the name of *Creed*, a term derived from the Latin word *credo*, (in English, *I believe*) which is the first that occurs in this confession of faith in that language.

In

In the Eastern church, these articles were often called *Κανων*, the Canon, which answers to the Latin, *Regula Fidei*, or Rule of Faith, the Creed being that rule and standard by which orthodoxy and heresy were tried and discriminated. But the most common name of the Creed was (*συμβολον*,) *symbolum* *, which is derived from the theme *συμβαλλω*, to put together, to compose. For the use of this word, as applied to the Creed, various reasons have been assigned. 1. Some say it was so called from its being a collection or epitome of Christian doctrines †. 2. Others have supposed it to be called *symbolum*, from each of the apostles casting in his *symbola*, his article, or share, towards the composition of the whole. But this supposition appears to be without foundation. Besides, *συμβολον* is here confounded with *συμβολη*, that is, *symbolum* with *symbola*. The share contributed by each was *symbola*; but the Creed is never called *symbola*, but always *symbolum*. 3. The author of “the History of the Creed ‡” has given a much

* *Vossius* thinks that in the three first centuries the Christians did not use the term, *symbol* of the faith, but called their Creed a confession, exposition, or rule of faith. And *Dupin* (*Biblioth. Pat. Eccl.* on the Creed) affirms that *Cyprian* (Ep. 45) was the first that applied the word *symbolum* to denote an epitome, or concise confession of Christian belief.

† *Symbolum est omnium credendorum ad salutem spectantium compendiosa collectio.* (Gerson). *Symbolum* Græce, Latine *collatio* dicitur. (Ita legitur, says Suicerus, ap. *Clementem Romanum*, five alium Ep. 1.)

‡ Peter King, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

less respectable account of the origin of the term *symbolum*, alleging that it was adopted by the early Christians, from its having been the badge of distinction, by which the initiated were admitted to some of the secret, and most licentious heathen rites. 4. Others suppose the Creed to have taken the name *symbolum* from the military oath or contract, which the soldiers made with the emperors, when they entered into their service. The Creed, they say, is a token of the covenant, or contract, which Christians make with God at their baptism. In proof of this they allege the testimony of Ambrose, who calls the Creed the *sacrament of our warfare* *, the oath taken by soldiers to be true and faithful to their sovereign : and of Chrysologus, who affirms, that a covenant or contract, made with a view to present or future advantage, was, both in human and divine engagements, called *symbolum* †. 5. But the opinion most commonly received, and indeed most probable in itself, is that the name *symbolum* was adopted, from its being like the *tessera militaris* among the Roman soldiers, the mark and character by which true believers were distinguished from heretics, as well as infidels.-----Some of the

* *Symbolum cordis signaculum et nostræ militiæ sacramentum.*
Amb. de Virg. vel. lib. 3.

† *Placitum vel pactum, quod lucris spes venientis continet, vel futuri symbolum nuncupari, contractu etiam docemur humano.—*
Intra Deum vero et homines *symbolum fidei sola fide firmatur.*
Chrysol. Hom. 62.

circumcision, even whilst the apostles were living, pretended to be themselves disciples of Christ, and, “for the sake of filthy lucre,” went forth to preach, naming indeed the name of Christ, but not teaching as the truth is in Jesus. The Creed was the mark or test, by which the true preachers of Christianity and true believers were distinguished*.

The Creed used in the Morning and Evening Prayer is called the Apostles’ Creed, not because it was composed by them, but because it is agreeable to their doctrines, and might have existed in a similar form in times not very remote from theirs. Many persons, however, are still of opinion, that it was composed by the apostles themselves, in the very form of words in which it is now expressed. But this opinion is founded upon a fabulous, though ancient, tradition, which states that the apostles, after the day of pentecost, and before their departure from Jerusalem to propagate the Gospel, agreed, in a full assembly of the twelve, to settle a rule of preaching and of faith, and accordingly composed this Creed. Subsequent writers have ventured to relate this story still more minutely, and have acquainted us with

* *Symbolum prodat si sit hostis, an focius.* (Ruffin.) *Symbolum tessera est, & signaculum, quo inter fideles, perfidosque secernitur.* Optatus calls *heretics*, deserters of the true *Symbol*, alluding to a military signal.

each article introduced by each apostle respectively. PETER *first* said, (our authority proceeds through the channel of the Romish church) *I believe in God the Father Almighty*; JOHN added, *maker of heaven and earth*; JAMES, *and in Jesus Christ his only Son, our Lord*; ANDREW, *who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary*; PHILIP, *suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried*; THOMAS, *he descended into hell**, &c. Each, in short, thus furnishing one article, they jointly completed the Creed in its present form.

It does not require much strength of argument to overturn a tradition, which, on the very face of it, bears the marks of suspicion, and stands supported by no respectable testimony whatever. We have incontestable evidence, that several of the articles said to have been dictated by the apostles, were not to be found in this Creed for the first four centuries † of the Christian era; which alone sufficiently demonstrates, that the Creed was not composed by the apostles. As a collateral proof, may be adduced the silence of St. Luke in the records of the Acts of the Apostles with regard to any such composition; as well as the silence of every ecclesiastical writer for the three first centuries.

* This account has been *falsely* attributed to Austin. See 115th Sermon. *De tempore*, ap. Aug.

† See Usher, Grabe, and Pearson, upon the descent into hell, communion of saints, Catholic church, life everlasting, &c.

During

During this period, the fathers, in their disputes with the heretics, had frequent occasion to prove, that the *doctrines of the Creed* are the *doctrines taught by the apostles*; but they no where hint, that the Creed itself was composed by them: an argument which they would naturally have urged; for, since both parties admitted the authority of the apostles, the proof of this would have terminated the dispute.

Had one universal form been prescribed by the apostles, we may reasonably conclude, that it would, like the form of prayer dictated by our Lord, have been found in the sacred writings, and invariably observed; and it is consequently impossible to give any rational account for the variety of forms in the second and third centuries, in which it has been remarked, there were *as many Creeds as authors*.

The conclusion which learned men have drawn from these reasons is, that though, with respect to doctrine, the Creed is perfectly apostolic, the composition itself is not to be attributed to the apostles, nor to any writer of their age*. It must be acknowledged, that this Creed, in ancient, as well as in modern times, is commonly styled the Apostolic Creed, or the Creed of the Apostles. But these terms were not always meant particularly to denote the Roman Creed, which we now call

* Together with the writers mentioned in the preceding note, See Vossius, Suicerus under the article *συμβολον*, Bull, Dupin, King, and Bingham.

the Creed of the Apostles ; or to exclude the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, and the Creeds of the ancient orthodox fathers and councils, all of which may be called apostolic, being forms founded upon the doctrine preached by the Apostles. The ordinary Creed of the church of Rome obtained the name of the *Apostolic Creed*, (says the learned and candid writer of the history of infant baptism,*) “ for no greater, or other reason than this. It was a custom to call those churches, in which any apostle had personally taught, especially if he had resided there any long time, or had died there, *apostolic* churches. Of these there were a great many in the Eastern parts, Jerusalem, Corinth, Ephesus, Antioch, &c., but in the Western parts, none but Rome. At Rome St. Paul and St. Peter had lived a considerable time, and there they were martyred : so that any one that, in the Western parts of the world, spoke of the apostolic church, was supposed to mean Rome, that being the only one in these parts. Hence their bishop came to be called the apostolic bishop ; their see, the apostolic see ; their faith, the apostolic faith ; and among the rest, the Creed that they used, the apostolic Creed.”

Thus we see that this Creed, though not framed by the apostles, may not improperly derive its name from them. It is an excellent epitome of the doctrine they taught, and, as nearly as may

* Wall, Part II. ch. 9.

be, expressed in their own words. And though some articles were added in latter times, the greater part of it is probably derived from the apostolic usage. For, from what has been stated, we must not infer, that the apostles used no Creeds. The fair presumption is, that they, and the first teachers of Christianity, used various forms of Creeds, Creeds differing in expression, but agreeing in substance.

That they used some Creed in admitting persons to baptism appears from the declaration of Philip, and the confession of the eunuch. And after the decease of the apostles, the universal practice of their immediate successors, and of the church in the early ages, which required an answer to each of the questions proposed to the candidates for baptism, amounts nearly to a demonstration, that such was the practice of the apostles themselves.

In Austin's time, some were disposed not only to exclude from the baptismal vow the profession of obedience to "God's holy will and commandments," but to abridge the usual profession of faith, and to reduce the Creed to this single article, "I believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God." In their defence, they pleaded the example of Philip. Austin replies, that, though for the sake of brevity, no other article is expressly mentioned in Holy Scripture, yet the words, "Philip baptized him," are to be understood as meaning, that all things were fulfilled, which
were

were usually observed in baptism *.—And the innovators, it is said, never presumed to carry their intentions into effect; but continued, as the church always had done, and as our church does, to make interrogatories about other articles, concerning the Holy Ghost, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the dead, the incarnation of Christ, his death upon the cross, his burial, resurrection, ascension, and session at the right hand of the Father. These articles were thought so necessary, that the church never omitted them either in clinic baptism, (that is, when men were baptized upon a sick or death-bed) or in infant baptism. Where by reason of sickness, infirmity, or tender age, they were incapable of answering themselves to each interrogatory, their sureties or sponsors answered for them. But that the ancients baptized into full and complete Creed, and not into the confession of any single article, is, as the learned in general have thought, an incontestable fact †.

* In eo quod ait baptizavit eum Philippus, intelligi voluit impleta esse omnia, quæ licet taceantur in scripturis, gratia brevitatis, tamen serie traditionis scimus implenda. Aug. de Fid. et Oper. c. 9.

† See Bingham Ecc. Hist. and the authorities there alleged. In an English Book of Common Prayer *reformed* by the Socinians, the only interrogatory, respecting articles of faith, is, in infant baptism, *Will ye instruct A. B. in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ?* And the following form may be used, *I baptize thee into the name of Jesus Christ.* In the ministration of baptism to such as are of riper years, the interrogatory is, *Do you believe Jesus of Nazareth to be the Christ?*

We

We may further remark, that during the more early periods, the church, in her Creeds, used a latitude of expression; and it is not probable that the apostles, who, as they were guided by inspiration, were in doctrinal matters incapable of error, should confine themselves to one single form of words in baptism, any more than the Evangelists have done in delivering the general truths of the Gospel. The fact appears to be, that every principal teacher, and every church, were allowed to express their own sense in their own words. They were at liberty to frame their own Creeds, as they did their Liturgies, provided they kept to the substance of the faith and doctrine delivered by Christ and his apostles.

It may perhaps gratify the curiosity of the less learned reader, and it will not have a tendency to render him less satisfied with our established Creeds, to peruse a translation of a few of the most celebrated Creeds of antiquity. He will not indeed find them arranged in precisely the same method, nor expressed in the same terms. But they will all contribute to support the observations of Irenæus and Tertullian, that “ the
“ canon of truth, that is, the true Catholic faith,
“ is always consistent with itself * ; and that there
“ is

* Irenæus (Lib. i. c. ix. sect. 4.) calls the Catholic faith, (or the Creed which he delivers) *the rule of truth, which the Christian embraced at his baptism, and retains firm and invariable.* Το κανονα της αληθειας εκληθη εν εαυτω, ος δια του βαπτισματος ειληφει——. In lib. iii. c. xxiv.

“ is but one rule of faith, and this is fixed and unalterable *.”

FORM OF THE CREED FOUND IN IRENÆUS.

One of the most ancient summaries of Christian faith that is now extant, was composed by Irenæus, who was the disciple of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John. In the first of his five books against heresies, † he says,

“ The church diffeminated throughout all the world, even unto the ends of the earth, received from the apostles, and their disciples, the belief in one God, the Father Almighty maker of Heaven and earth, the seas, and all that are therein;”

“ And in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who for our salvation was incarnate :”

“ And in the Holy Ghost, who preached by the prophets the dispensations of God, and the advents of our beloved Lord Jesus Christ; his being

c. xxiv. sect. i. he maintains that the faith of the Catholic church has been uniformly one and the same.

* *Regula autem fidei una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis, credendi scilicet in unicum Deum, &c. Tert. de Virg. Vel. c. i.*

By this one faith and one rule of faith, Irenæus and Tertullian do not mean any particular form of words prescribed by public authority, to express the articles of their faith, but the substance of what the church believed to have been taught by Christ and his Apostles.

† Cap. x. p. 48. Benedict. Ed.

born

born of a virgin, his sufferings, resurrection from the dead, ascension into heaven in the flesh; and his coming again from heaven in the glory of the Father to gather together in one all things, (Eph. i. 10.) and to raise from the dead the flesh of all mankind, that to Christ Jesus our Lord God, Saviour, and King, according to the good pleasure of the invisible Father, every knee may bow, both of things in heaven, and in earth, and under the earth, (Phil. ii. 10. 11.) and that every tongue may confess to him, and that he may exercise righteous judgment upon all, consigning to everlasting fire all spiritual wickedness, both the angels who transgressed, and became apostates, and ungodly, unjust, lawless, and blasphemous men; and bestow life upon all those that are just and holy, that have kept his commandments and abide in his love, either from the beginning of their lives, or the time of their conversion; and investing them with immortality and everlasting glory."

"This faith, thus delivered," says Irenæus, "the Catholic church dispersed throughout the world, retains with one consent, as if it were animated with one soul, and spoke with one mouth. This is the belief of the churches of the East, of Egypt, of Africa, of Spain, of Germany and of the Celts, as well as of the Mediterranean churches of Palestine*;" and in the words of Tertul-

* *Id. ibid.* The ancient Christians had an idea that Jerusalem
and

Tertullian*, “it was the belief of those parts of Britain, which, though inaccessible to the Romans, were yet subject to Christ.” “This faith,” continues Irenæus, “like the sun, illumines the whole world. Being one and the same, neither the most eloquent teacher, nor the most eminent ruler in the church, can add any thing to it, and he that is the most rude of speech, cannot diminish from it.”

In other parts of this work, Irenæus mentions the three persons of the Trinity, and almost as often as he speaks of the Word, he establishes either his divinity, eternity, or equality with the Father†. Eusebius testifies that this “apostolic man,” as Jerom styles him, was always a strenuous defender of the true Catholic faith ‡.

OF THE CREEDS IN TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian, who flourished in the second century, and was nearly contemporary with Irenæus, has left us three forms of a Creed; of which the most concise is here given.

and Palestine were situated in the middle of the world. If by the world we understand the continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa, the whole of the world then known, the opinion, though it has often been stigmatized as a vulgar error, will be found to be almost geographically correct.

* Tert. adv. Jud. c. 7.

† See Dupin's Bib. Article *Iren.*

‡ Ecc. Hist. l. iii. c. 23.

“ There

“ There is only one rule of faith, and it is fixed and unalterable, that is, to believe in one God Almighty, the maker of the world ;

“ And in Jesus Christ, his Son, who was born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, on the third day raised again from the dead, received up into heaven, and now sits at the right hand of the Father, from whence he shall come again to judge the quick and the dead, by the resurrection of the flesh *.”

He elsewhere calls an exposition of the faith, in which the divinity of Christ is more strongly asserted, and mention is made of the Holy Spirit ; and which is expressed more at length, and in words very different from the preceding Creed, “ a rule of faith delivered by Christ, which heretics alone disputed †.”

A CREED ATTRIBUTED TO ORIGEN.

Whether Origen, as some maintain, or Maximus, who was older than Origen, or, what is more probable ‡, one of Origen's disciples, named

* De Virg. vel. c. 1.

† Hæc regula a Christo instituta, nullas apud nos habet quæstiones, nisi quas hæreses inferunt, et quæ hæreticos faciunt. De Præscript. Hæret. c. 13 and 14.

‡ What it affirms of the *religious prince* is applicable to no one before Constantine.

Maximus, was the author of the dialogue, written to refute the errors of Marcion, it is not my present object to inquire ; my design being only to quote from it the following form of a Creed :

“ I believe,” says the author, “ there is One God, the maker and creator of all things :

“ And one who is from him, God the word, who is of one substance with him, and co-eternal, who in those latter ages assumed human nature, being born of Mary, and was crucified, and was raised again from the dead : I believe also the Holy Ghost, who exists from all eternity.”

We have some fragments of the Creed in the writings of CYPRIAN, who also proves the antiquity of its use in the primitive church, and that not only the articles concerning the Trinity, the incarnation, &c. of Christ, but likewise those which relate to the church, with the remission of sins, and life everlasting, were a part of the Creed of the African churches in his time.

CREEDE OF GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.

“ There is one God, the Father of the living Word, of the essential wisdom, and power, and of the eternal express image ; the perfect begetter of the perfect : the Father of the only begotten Son.

“ There is one Lord, the only Son of the only Father, God of God, the character and express image

image of the Godhead, the operative word, the providing wisdom of the constitution of the universe, the efficient power of the whole creation*; the true Son of the true Father, invifible of the invifible, incorruptible of the incorruptible, immortal of the immortal, and eternal of the eternal:

“ And there is one Holy Spirit, who proceedeth from God, and by the Son is made manifest to men. The image of the Son, the perfect likeness of the perfect: the life, the cause of life to the living. The holy fountain, holiness itself, the author of sanctification: by whom is manifested God the Father, who is over all, and in all, and God the Son, who is through all.

“ There is therefore a perfect Trinity, which in glory, eternity, and sovereignty is inseparably and inalienably united†.—Neither is there in this Trinity any thing created, or subject to another; any thing adventitious, which did not exist before, but was afterwards introduced. Neither was the Son ever wanting to the Father, nor the Spirit to the Son, but the same Trinity is immutable and invariable from everlasting.”

This Creed is said to have been composed by

* That is the wisdom by which the system of the universe was planned, and the power by which it was carried into execution, or created.

† The remaining part of the Creed, which some attribute to Gregory Thaumaturgus, others say is the conclusion drawn by Gregory of Nyssa from the preceding profession of faith.

Gregory for the use of his own church, at a time when there existed various controversies on the subject of the Trinity. Gregory of Nyssa, speaking of this very formulary, testifies, that by it the people of Neo-Cæsarea, were instructed to his day, and thus preserved from the infection of heresy. It is not a complete summary of Christian faith, being confined to the exposition of the doctrines relating to the Holy Trinity. Of the opinion of the primitive church on this subject, it affords the most convincing proof; and in none of the writings of the Ante-nicene fathers is the Divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, more explicitly asserted.

This confession of faith, as Gregory of Nyssa relates in his life of Gregory Thaumaturgus, was delivered to him by a revelation from heaven*.

And

* He says that the Virgin Mary, and St. John, appeared to Gregory in a vision, and explained to him the mystery of godliness. They likewise dictated a short creed, which he committed to writing, and bequeathed the copy to the church of Neo-cæsarea; where this author affirms it was preserved in his time. The story of the vision I believe to be fabulous, and I suspect that it was forged to support the Athanasian doctrine, when it was in danger of being overturned. Pious frauds, and fictions are not peculiar to the church of Rome. Even in the earlier ages they were but too common to some Christian polemics, who seem to have occasionally thought any argument good, that was calculated to silence an opponent. Jerom almost acknowledges misrepresentation to be commendable, when it proceeds either from hatred towards infidels, or from zeal for the faith. Non condemnamus errorem, qui de odio Judæorum, & fidei pietate

And it was the observation of Bishop Bull *, that it is by no means incredible that such a revelation should have been vouchsafed to him, considering the many miracles he is acknowledged to have wrought †. Whether the miracles are supported by sufficient evidence, or not, this is unquestionably certain, that if the Creed was not entirely composed by Gregory Thaumaturgus, it was in times very near those in which he lived, extant in its present form.

tate descendit, was his observation on the conduct of some Christians, who pretended that certain *reddish* stones, found in the ruins of the temple, contracted that colour from the blood of Zacharias, the son of Barachias.

* *Bull* on the Nicene Creed, sect. 11. c. 12. *Cave*, whom I conceive to be more credulous, and less judicious than *Bull*, questions the genuineness of the Creed. Non obstante *Nysseni*, hominis in hisce nimis creduli, auctoritate, hæc expostuncula a viris cordatis, & prudentioribus ægre fidem impetrabit. (Hist. Lit. Greg. Thaum.) *Waterland* (import of Doct. of Trin.) maintains its genuineness.

† Hence he obtained the name of Thaumaturgus, (i. e.) worker of miracles. I apprehend that most of the miracles of the third, fourth, and subsequent centuries down to those of the Holy Rood of St. Paul's, about the time of the reformation, and those of the Virgin of *Ancona* of recent memory, are, by the learned in general, admitted to be false. I trust that no churchman of the present day, will be offended by my recommending to my reader's attention Dr. Conyers Middleton's free Inquiry into the miraculous Powers which are supposed to have subsisted in the Christian church after the days of the Apostles.—I am far from believing, that the reporters and recorders of these miracles were disposed to lie; yet they were, in general, I fear, but too willing to be deceived.

THE CREED OF LUCIAN.

About the time of Gregory lived Lucian, the eloquent Presbyter of Antioch, who wrote several treatises concerning the faith, and towards the close of the third century, suffered martyrdom. In opposition to the Sabellians he composed a Creed, which is recorded by Socrates*, Athanasius†, and Hilary‡. The last of these authors comments upon it, and proves, that it does not favour Arian opinions, as the abettors of that party pretended. The following translation is given from the Greek of Socrates, and the form delivered and vindicated by Hilary is subjoined in the note§.

“ We

* Ecc. Hist. l. 11. c. x. † De Syn. Arim. ‡ De Synod.

§ The form of this Creed, according to Hilary, is,—Consequenter Evangelicæ & Apostolicæ traditioni credimus in unum Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, cunctorum quæ sunt ædificatorem & factorem & provisorum, ex quo omnia:—Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium ipsius unigenitum, Deum per quem omnia, qui generatus est ex patre, Deum ex Deo, Totum ex Toto, Unum ex Uno, Perfectum de Perfecto, Regem de Rege, Dominum de Domino, Verbum, Sapientiam, Vitam, Lumen verum, Viam veram, Resurrectionem, Pastorem, Januam, inconvertibilem & immutabilem, Divinitatis Essentiæque & Virtutis & Gloriæ incommutabilem Imaginem, primum editum totius creaturæ, qui semper fuit in principio apud Deum Verbum Deus, juxta quod dictum est in Evangelio: Et Deus erat Verbum, per quem omnia facta sunt, & in quo omnia constant, qui in novissimis diebus descendit de sum-

mis

“ We believe, according to the tradition of the evangelists and apostles, in one God, the Father Almighty, the maker and Creator of the universe:—And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, who is God, and by whom all things were made, who was begotten, before all ages, of the Father, God of God, Whole of Whole, Sole of Sole, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord; the living Word, Wisdom, Life; the way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate; invariable and immutable; the unchangeable image of the Divinity, both of the essence and power, and will, and glory of the Father: the first born of every creature; who was in the beginning with God, the Word which was God, according to what is said in the Gospel, *and the*

mis, & natus est ex Virgine secundum Scripturas, & agnus factus est mediator Dei & hominum, prædestinatus fidei nostræ & dux vitæ; dixit quippe, Non enim descendi de cœlo, ut facerem voluntatem meam, sed voluntatem ejus qui me misit. Qui passus est, & resurrexit pro nobis tertia die, & ascendit in cœlos & sedet in dextram Patris, & iterum venturus est cum gloria judicare vivos & mortuos. Et in Sanctum Spiritum, qui in Paraclesin & Sanctificationem & Consummationem credentibus datus est, juxta quod & Dominus Jesus Christus ordinavit discipulis, dicens, Pergite & docete universas gentes, baptizantes eos in Nomine Patris, & Filii & Spiritus Sancti, manifesta utique Patris, vere Patris, certaue Filii vere Filii, notaque Spiritus Sancti, vere Spiritus Sancti: hisque nominibus non simpliciter, neque otiose propositis, sed significantibus diligenter propriam uniuscujusque nominatorum Substantiam & Ordinem & Gloriam, ut sint quidem per substantiam tria, per consonantiam vero unum. *τη υποστασεις τρια, τη δε συμφωνια εν.*

word was God: by whom all things were made, and in whom all things subsist. Who in the last days came down from heaven, and was born of a Virgin according to the Scriptures; and was made man; the mediator between God and man; who was sent to be the author of our faith, and the prince of life, for he said I came not from heaven to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me: who suffered for us, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, and shall come again with glory and power to judge the quick and the dead.—

“ And I believe in the Holy Ghost, who is given for the consolation, and sanctification and perfection of them that believe; as also our Lord Jesus Christ taught his disciples, saying, *Go, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.* That is of the Father, who is truly the Father; of the Son, who is truly the Son; and of the Holy Ghost, who is truly the Holy Ghost: these names not being idly, and without any meaning applied, but accurately expressing the distinct personality, glory, and order of each: So that they are three persons united in one Godhead. This faith we hold before God and Christ.”

This Creed was afterwards adopted by a council at Antioch, composed of ninety-five Bishops, in some degree to guard against Arian principles, but

but chiefly to establish the true faith, in opposition to Sabellianism. Bishop Bull maintains the orthodoxy of the Creed, defends Hilary's apology for it, and answers the objections against it, made by Baronius and others*.

CREED OF JERUSALEM.

Of all the churches, those of Palestine were the most ancient; and the first and most eminent among them, was the church of Jerusalem; whence, as from a parent source Christianity was diffused through the world. About the year 350, Cyril was created Bishop of this church.—Before this, he had written his catechetical discourses, in which are explained at length the articles of the Christian faith. These have been collected in the following Creed.

“ I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible :

“ And in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all ages †, the true God, by whom all things were made, who was incarnate, and made man, cruci-

* Bull. Def. Nic. Fid. Sect. ii. c. xiii.

† Cyril very often, and in the strongest manner, speaks of the *eternal* generation of the Son. On this subject his Eleventh Catechesis will be read with pleasure. The catecheses or catechetical discourses were composed, as Jerom testifies, when Cyril was a *young* man, that is, soon after the Nicene Council.

fied and buried ; and who rose again from the dead the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father ; and shall come to judge the quick and the dead, of whose kingdom there shall be no end :

“ And in the Holy Ghost, the comforter, who spake by the prophets ; in one baptism of repentance, in the remission of sins ; and in one Catholic church ; and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in everlasting life.”

This Creed is neither the Nicene, nor the Constantinopolitan. It wants the words *of one substance with* the Father, and other titles given to the Son in the Nicene Creed. Neither is it the Constantinopolitan Creed, for Cyril's catecheses were composed before he was made Bishop of Jerusalem, and the council of Constantinople was held thirty years after that period. It is in reality, says Bishop Bull, the ancient Creed of the church of Jerusalem *.

The introductory part is found in the Liturgy ascribed to James, the first Bishop of this church ; and the whole of the Creed is probably one of the most ancient, and authentic summaries of faith that are now extant. It teaches in the most express terms the divinity and eternal generation of Jesus Christ. We may likewise remark that in

* Restat igitur, ut sit revera vetus symbolum ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ. Def. Fid. Nicæ.

this, and other ancient oriental Creeds, were contained many of the articles that now follow the mention of the Holy Ghost in the Apostle's Creed, such as one baptism, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the body, and everlasting life. The communion of saints and the descent into hell, are the only articles not expressed in this Creed, which are to be found in the present western, or apostolic Creed. In conclusion we may observe, that even after the Nicene council, the churches both of the East and West, retained their ancient Creeds*,

NICENE CREED, STRICTLY SO CALLED, AND
CONSTANTINOPOLITAN, COMMONLY CALLED THE NICENE.

From the specimens already exhibited, the less learned reader may perceive, what was the substance of the Creeds of the primitive churches. For we have no entire form of a public Creed, before that which was agreed upon at the *first general meeting*, or *council*, consisting of Christians from all parts of the world, and held at *Nice* in Bithynia A. D. 325. This council composed and established a Creed, principally in opposition to the forms adopted by the Arians. Hence it is that the articles, which in ancient as well as in more

* Ecclesiæ tam orientis, quam occidentales, antiqua sua symbola, etiam post synodum Nicænum, retinuerunt. *Bull. Fid. Nic. Def.*

modern Creeds, succeed the mention of the Holy Ghost, are in the Nicene Creed omitted. About these there was no controversy, and the Fathers assembled at *Nice*, did not recite, or explain more of the Creed than was necessary to oppose the errors of the times.

Fifty-eight years after the drawing up of the Nicene Creed, it was compleated by the *second general council*, (held at Constantinople A. D. 383.)* and published in the form in which it now stands in our communion service, and in that of almost all the established churches in the world. During this interval, new heresies had sprung up, respecting the belief in the Holy Spirit. In opposition to them, a few clauses were added to the Creed: as were also those other articles which formed a part of the interrogatories proposed to the candidates for baptism, and which, as has appeared from the Creeds already cited, were commonly annexed to confessions of faith.—This Creed, thus composed, is more generally distinguished by the name of the *Nicene Creed*, than the *Constantinopolitan*. The difference between the two Creeds will be sufficiently obvious, by printing in *Italic*, the additions, made by the fathers assembled at Constantinople, to the form originally agreed upon at *Nice*.

* At Constantinople three general assemblies of Bishops were successively held, in the years 381, 382, and 383. It is the first of the canons of the last Synod, that ratifies the Creed of the Council of *Nice*. *Dupin*.

“ We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of *heaven and earth, and of all things* visible and invifible :

“ And in one Lord Jefus Chrift, the only begotten Son of God, [that is, of the fubftance of the Father *] *begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, light of light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one fubftance with the Father : By whom all things were made [both in Heaven and on earth] : Who for us men, and for our falvation, came down from heaven and was incarnate by the Holy Ghoft of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified alfo for us under Pontius Pilate : he fuffered and was buried, and the third day he rofe again according to the Scriptures, and afcended into heaven, and fitteth on the right hand of the Father : and he fhall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead ; whofe kingdom fhall have no end.*

“ And we believe in the Holy Ghoft, † *the Lord and giver of life who proceedeth from the Father (and the Son ‡), who with the Father and the Son together*
is

* The claufes in brackets, which form a part of the *Nicene Creed*, are omitted in the *Constantinopolitan*.

† Here the *Nicene Creed* ended ; but it was followed by an *anathema* againft all who fhould maintain, that *there was a time when the Son was not, or that he was not before he was born, or that he was created.*

‡ However true the doctrine may be, or however confonant to the *opinions* of the more *ancient* Greek fathers, that the “ Holy Spirit
“ proceeds from the Father and the Son,” yet the words *and the Son*
are

*is worshipped and glorified, who spake by the prophets. And (I believe *) one Catholic and Apostolic church; we acknowledge one baptism for the remission of sins; (and †) we look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen."*

CREED OF PELAGIUS. ‡

Pelagius, the monk of Bangor, is the only writer of the more ancient British church, that was distinguished in the Roman world. Before he fell into the erroneous opinions he entertained concerning original sin §, and the necessity of divine grace, which

are not found in the Greek copies of the Constantinopolitan Creed. They are an interpolation originally made by the Spanish and Gallic churches. Against them, Leo III. decreed that no addition be made to the Creed of a general council. But his successors wished to compel the Greeks to adopt that language in the Creed, which was never used by the Greek Fathers. They say, the Holy Spirit proceeds *from* the Father *by* the Son.

* Wanting in Greek copies, and Roman missals.

† Not in the Creed, but in the missals.

‡ His name in the language of his own country is supposed to have been *Morgan*, (*Marigena*) which signifies what *Pelagius* does in Greek and Latin, *belonging to the Sea*. He lived at Rome in great reputation about the end of the fourth century. He was a man of extraordinary abilities, and they who condemn his errors, in general respect his learning, piety, and virtue.

§ The term *original sin* is said to have been first used by Austin, in order strongly to denote the corruption of our nature, derived from the fall of our first parents. This doctrine, which
was

which were successfully combated by Jerom, Austin, and many others, and are rejected expressly by our church, he had written three books on *the Belief of the Trinity*, of which this Creed may be considered as an abstract. The Creed, though it has been attributed both to Austin and Jerom, was addressed by Pelagius to Pope Innocent. So that it is much older than the Athanasian, and only about thirty-four years posterior to the Constantinopolitan. It contains a very full and explicit confession of the true faith. Out of respect to our Countryman, the author of the History of Infant Baptism has translated it at length: and the following *extract* will shew, that, however favourable the revival of some of the errors of Pelagius may be thought to the Socinian tenets, yet on the leading articles of Christian faith, that cause has no where a more direct or decided adversary.

“ We believe,” says Pelagius, “ in God, the father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible.

“ We believe also in the Lord Jesus Christ, by whom all things were created; very God, the only begotten, the true Son of God; neither made, nor adopted, but begotten: of one substance with the Father, which the Greeks express by *ὁμοουσιος*: and in all things equal to the Father, so that he is not inferior to him, either in time, degree, or

was expressed in different terms by the more ancient fathers, the Pelagians denied. See 9th Art. of Rel.

power.—

power.—Though we say, the Son is begotten of the Father, we ascribe no time to that divine and ineffable generation: but we mean that neither the Father nor the Son had any beginning. For we cannot otherwise confess the *Father* to be eternal, unless we also acknowledge the *Son* to be co-eternal: for he is called the *Father*, as having a *Son*; and he who for *ever* was a *Father*, for *ever* had a *Son*.

“ We believe also in the Holy Spirit, very God, who proceedeth from the Father; and who, in power, in will, in eternity, in substance, is equal to the Father and the Son.

“ As in confutation of Arius, we say, that the substance of the Trinity is one and the same, and acknowledge one God in three persons; so avoiding the impiety of Sabellius, we distinguish three persons, saying there is one person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Spirit.—They are one in substance, but are distinguished by persons.

“ We say that the Son of God, who, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, existed from eternity, and without beginning, did, in time, take upon him of Mary, who was always a Virgin, our Nature; the Word was made flesh, by taking the manhood to him, not by altering the Godhead.—There is in Christ, one person of the Son, and two perfect and entire natures, one of the Godhead, and one of the manhood, which consists of body and soul.

“ We hold, that our nature, capable of suffering, was so assumed by the Son of God, as that the Divinity remained incapable of suffering. For the Son of God suffered, not in appearance only, but really, all the things which the Scripture speaks of, hunger, thirst, weariness, pain, and death; but he suffered in that Nature which was capable of suffering, not in that Nature which did assume, but in that which was assumed: For the Son, in respect of his Godhead, is incapable of suffering, as the Father is incapable of suffering; incomprehensible*, as the Father is incomprehensible; invisible, as the Father is invisible. The Son of God died, according to the Scriptures, in respect of that which was capable of dying.

“ The third day he rose again, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; the same nature of flesh still remaining, in which he was born, and suffered, in which he also rose again. The nature of his humanity is not extinguished, but glorified, being to continue for ever with the Divinity. He will come to judge the living and the dead, that he may reward the just, and punish sinners. We also believe the resurrection of the flesh; and that we shall for ever remain such as we shall once be made after

* *Incomprehensible*, in the Latin original, is nearly equivalent to *omnipresent*, and expresses that which cannot be comprehended in space, or included within bounds.

the resurrection *. That there is one life for the saints, but rewards different according to their labours: as the punishment of the wicked shall be according to the measure of their sins.

“ We hold *one baptism*, which ought to be administered with the same sacramental words to *infants* as it is to adults. If after baptism a man do fall, we believe he may be recovered by repentance.” &c. &c.

ATHANASIAN CREED.

Some have supposed that this Creed was written by Athanasius during his residence at Rome †: but it is more commonly ascribed to Vigilius, the African ‡, who lived towards the end of the fifth century. The Creed, as many of the learned § think, was originally composed in Latin for the use of some part of that church, and afterwards translated into Greek. This valuable exposition of the Christian faith was adopted by most of the ancient western churches, and, among the rest, by those of Gaul and Britain.

* He here glances, not only at Origen, who believed a great many changes in the future state, but at Jerom, who had spoken of the torments of hell, as if there were hope that they would not be eternal. *Wall.*

† Baron. Ann. 340.

‡ Symbolum fidei, sub Athanasii nomine circulatum, *Vigilio* nos, non invita, ut credimus, veritate, ascribendum censemus. (Cave, Hist. Lit.)

§ Cave quoted above, with Vossius, Pearson, Usher, &c.

Being

Being an excellent summary of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, as taught by the apostles, received by the earlier Christians, and established by the four first general councils, it is, on certain festivals, appointed by our church to be used at Morning Prayer instead of the Apostles' Creed *.

And,

* The objections made to this Creed by those who believe the Scripture to be the word of God, and that this Creed, in general, contains nothing that is contrary to that word, are, that it is *unintelligible* and *uncharitable*. To the former of these objections it has been replied, there is a great difference between understanding the meaning of the Creed, or the doctrine which it sets forth, and comprehending the thing itself, or the mystery, to which this doctrine relates. It is easy enough to understand the Catholic or orthodox doctrine, concerning the Trinity, which the Scripture teaches, and the church has always received; but to comprehend the mystery of the Trinity itself, is impossible. For we cannot conceive the *manner*, how three persons are One God, nor how the One God subsists in three persons. By not attending to this necessary distinction, a man may suppose he does not understand the *doctrine* of the Creed, merely because he cannot comprehend the *mystery* of the Trinity.—This latter is above his understanding. But is that the fault of this Creed?—Supposing the Creed expunged from the Liturgy, would he have clearer conceptions of this mysterious truth? Or will any other Creed, or exposition of the faith, that human ingenuity can devise, enable a *finite* capacity to comprehend an *infinite* object?—The principal use of a Creed is, to put a form of sound words into the mouths of Christians, that they may be able to make a proper confession of their faith. Such forms are the apostolic, and the Nicene Creeds, as well as most of the Creeds that appear in the preceding pages. But the Athanasian Creed is farther intended to guard and secure the faith against the artifices and evasions of all heretics. And if, in some points, other Creeds are more easy, it is

And, in the language of a learned writer, “as long as there shall be any man left to oppose the doctrines

only because they are more *general*, and descend not to such a particular explication; but they are for this reason more liable to be evaded, and the true sense of them is more easily explained away. See Horberry’s xviiith Sermon.

As to its *uncharitableness*, the condemning, or damnatory clauses, as they have been called, do not extend to each of the particular explications here given, but are intended only to secure the general doctrine. To elucidate the meaning and intention of the church, the ecclesiastical commissioners appointed in 1689 to review the Liturgy, agreed, that a Rubric should be made, *declaring that the condemning clauses were not to be restrained to each particular article, but were intended against those that deny the substance of the Christian religion in general.* (Life of Tillotson by Birch, p. 181.) And it should seem that there is no want of charity in declaring, that it is necessary, according to the terms of the Gospel, to believe that there are three persons who are one God, and that the second of these, the Son, was made man. In the English translation there is the appearance of a harsh expression not warranted by the original, *He that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity.* This passage might perhaps be more faithfully rendered, *Let him who desires to be saved, thus think of the Trinity.* (Qui vult servari, ita de Trinitate sentiat.) These words, which have been strangely styled a *damnatory* clause, do not imply even so much as a *censure*. They are an application of the introduction, which simply states, what no Christian will deny, that whoever is desirous of salvation, and expects it upon the terms of the Gospel, must first of all believe the doctrines of the Gospel: he must in particular embrace and hold fast, the two primary articles of faith, that “in the unity of the Godhead there are three persons of one substance, power, and eternity: the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost;” (1st Art. of Rel.) and that for us men, and for our salvation, the second person, the Son, became incarnate. Of these two articles the Creed gives a full and circumstantial exposition: and in the conclusion

trines which this Creed contains, so long will it be expedient, and even necessary to continue the use of it, in order to preserve the rest.—And I suppose, when we have none remaining to find fault with the doctrines, there will be none to object against the use of the Creed.”

In the following table, taken from Dupin's *History of Ecclesiastical Authors*, four ancient Creeds are compared. The Vulgar, (or the Apostles' Creed in its present form) the Aquileian, the Oriental, and the Roman, (or the older form of the Apostolic Creed.) Dupin does not state what copies he followed. This I mention, because different copies of the same Creed are often delivered with some variety of expression; and the Creeds here given do not all, in every instance, minutely and verbally agree with other copies that I have examined.

clusion it exhorts all that would avoid dangerous errors, to hold the Catholic faith; to believe that the three divine persons are one God, and that the Word was truly made man, and thus to think of the Trinity.

Notwithstanding the excellence of the Creed, the expediency of using it in a public Liturgy has been questioned by divines, who both steadfastly believed the doctrines it contains, and approved of the expositions of them it delivers. I think it probable that they are argued upon this principle.—Our congregations being infected with no erroneous opinions in matters of faith, being in general happily unacquainted, not only with the nature, but even with the very names of the various corruptions against which this Creed explicitly guards, there is less occasion, in our public worship, for the recital of so minute an explication of points which are confessedly abstruse.

<i>A Comparative Table of</i>	
THE VULGAR.	THE AQUILEIAN.
I. I believe in God, the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth.	I. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty.
II. And in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord.	II. And in Christ Jesus, his only Son our Lord.
III. Who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.	III. Who was born by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary.
IV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, he descended into hell.	IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried, he descended into hell.
V. The third day he rose again from the dead.	V. The same.
VI. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty.	VI. He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father.
VII. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	VII. The same.
VIII. I believe in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. And in the Holy Ghost.
IX. The holy catholic church, the communion of saints.	IX. I believe the holy church.
X. The forgiveness of sins.	X. The same.
XI. The resurrection of the body.	XI. The resurrection of this body.
XII. And the life everlasting. Amen.	XII. Wanting.

<i>Four Ancient Creeds.</i>	
THE ORIENTAL.	THE ROMAN.
I. I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, invifible and impaffable.	I. I believe in God, the Father Almighty.
II. And in our only Lord Jefus Chrift, his Son.	II. And in Jefus Chrift, his only Son our Lord.
III. The fame.	III. The fame.
IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried.	IV. The fame as in the Oriental.
V. The fame.	V. The fame.
VI. The fame, yet Almighty is fometimes added, as in the Vulgar	VI. The fame with the Aquileian.
VII. The fame.	VII. The fame.
VIII. The fame.	VIII. The fame.
IX. The fame.	IX. The fame.
X. The fame.	X. The fame.
XI. The fame as in the Vulgar.	XI. The fame.
XII. Wanting.	XII. Wanting.

Though the Creed was always used prior to the administration of baptism, when the catechumen made an open profession of his faith, and sometimes in private devotion, yet in the earlier ages it constituted no part of the public Liturgy. It was first introduced into the daily service of the Greek church by Tullo, who was Bishop of Antioch about A. D. 471, and was adopted by the church of Constantinople about 511. From the Eastern churches this custom was brought into the West; and the Constantinopolitan Creed was, by the third council of Toledo, (about A. D. 589) ordered to be recited before the Lord's Prayer, in the churches of Spain and Gallicia*. These churches being then returning from the doctrines of Arius, with which they had been infected, this Creed was employed as an antidote against relapsing into like errors for the future. In the time of Charlemagne it was adopted by all the churches of Gaul, where, as well as in Spain, it was ever afterwards retained, notwithstanding the advice and directions of Pope Leo III. to lay aside a practice which the Papal See had not then admitted †. The church of Rome, however, finding from long experience, that the Spanish and Gallican churches were not to be prevailed upon

* Some copies of the acts of this council read Gallia.

† The Creed was not sung or said at Rome in the Liturgy, for which this reason was assigned, *The Roman church was not infected with heresies as other churches were.* And at that period the allegation was not unfounded.

to adopt her practice, complied with theirs.—
 “ That there might be no disagreement in the
 “ church,” was the pretence of Rome for intro-
 ducing the Creed into her Liturgy, about A. D.
 1014, that is, upwards of 400 years after the daily
 use of it had been enjoined by the third council
 of Toledo.

This is one of the arguments which Stilling-
 fleet * produces to shew the difference between
 the old Gallic and the Roman offices; and to
 prove, that the church of England at the refor-
 mation did not follow the model of the church of
 Rome, but the more generally received and ap-
 proved practices of the ancient Gallic and British
 churches.

CREED WHY PLACED IN THIS PART OF THE SERVICE.

That the place in which the Creed stands in our
 Morning and Evening Prayer †, is the most proper
 that could be chosen, will be evident, if we con-
 sider what precedes and what follows it.

* Antiq. of Brit. Church, c. iv. p. 226, &c.

† In the Breviaries it is directed to be said *privately*, immediately
 after *Pater Noster* and *Ave Maria*, and before the Mattins or Morn-
 ing Service begin. But with us, excepting only the intervention
 of a hymn, the Apostles' Creed immediately follows the lesson from
 the Gospel at morning service, as the Constantinopolitan does the
 lesson from the Gospel in the communion service. This is perfectly
 consonant to the practice of antiquity, which appointed the Creed
 to be said after the Gospel.

1. Before it, are the Lessons taken out of the Holy Scriptures. "Faith comes by hearing," and we having heard the word of God, profess our belief of it. The word did not profit the Jews, for want of faith in them that heard it. We trust it will profit us, who immediately after hearing it, individually make open profession of our belief.

2. After the Creed follow the Collects and Prayers, and on the days appointed, the Litany. Our belief is the basis of our supplications.--- "Faith is the fountain of prayer," says Austin, and "how shall they call on him in whom they have not believed," asks an inspired apostle? That we may call upon him properly and effectually, we first declare our belief by reciting the Creed. With strict propriety therefore have the compilers of our Liturgy directed us to repeat the Apostles' Creed *after* we have heard "God's holy word;" and *before* we proceed "to ask those things that are requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul."

WHY RECITED BY BOTH MINISTER AND PEOPLE.

The Rubric directs the Apostles' Creed to be said or sung by the minister and the people. Each individual of the congregation is to join it. It is the confession of every person present, and there-

therefore every one ought personally to pronounce it with the minister*.

It should be remembered, that our Creed does not, like our prayers, run in the plural number†. The minister does not say in the name of the congregation, “We believe;” but he for himself, and every individual for himself, is directed to say, “I believe.” We may, and in Holy Scripture we are often admonished, to pray for one another. But every man must believe for himself, and ought to make the profession of his belief with his own mouth, since every one is to be justified and saved by his own faith, and not by the faith of others. Let none of the people imagine, if they hear the minister repeat it, and themselves say Amen, that this is sufficient. For every member of the congregation is as much concerned in the rehearsal of it, as the minister himself. At the conclusion of a Collect, he who adds *Amen* is supposed sufficiently to unite in the whole; but belief is considered as a thing so entirely personal, that the church has directed the whole congregation to accompany the minister in the recitation

* In some of our country churches, the people say the Creed *after* the minister. Before they utter a word, he finishes a sentence; and then pauses till they have begun, and repeated it after him. Thus each article is twice rehearsed, first by the minister, and afterwards by the people. This practice I conceive not to be consonant either to the directions or meaning of the framers of the Rubric.

† Yet we have seen that many of the ancient Creeds did.

of her Creeds; excepting only that of Athanasius, where the recital of the clauses by the minister and people alternately is equivalent to the repetition of the whole.

CREED WHY REPEATED STANDING.

The Creed is appointed to be said or sung by the minister and the people *standing*. This was the attitude, in which the catechumens in the ancient church always repeated it. The Creed is not so immediately addressed to God as our prayers are. It is a solemn declaration, reciprocally made by one man to another, by every individual to the whole congregation. Now, whenever one man addresses an assembly of his equals, and in the house of prayer all men must be considered as equal, standing is the attitude which among us decorum naturally suggests; and it is therefore the attitude enjoined by the regulations of the church. An additional reason for the attitude is, that this declaration of faith is made in the presence of God, by whom, at the same time, we wish it should be heard, and towards whom we should shew every mark of respect and reverence.

Again, *standing* may imply a determination to defend and maintain the faith which we profess. And upon this principle is to be explained the ancient practice of some churches*, where the

* Of Lithuania, Poland, &c.

nobility repeated the Creed standing, and with their swords drawn, intimating, that they would, to the utmost, defend the doctrines of the Creed, and were prepared, if necessity should require, to seal the truth of it with their blood.

CREED WHY SAID STANDING TOWARDS THE EAST.

In the recital of the Creed it was customary to turn towards the chancel, or eastern part of the edifice. This ancient custom, though not enjoined by any Rubric, or direction of our church, that I at present recollect, is still retained by many of our congregations. For the origin of this practice we must look to the usage of antiquity, where, as we have observed, the Creed was first publicly used in baptism. The renunciation of “the devil and all his works, the
“poms and vanities of this wicked world, with
“all the sinful lusts of the flesh,” was made by the catechumens with their faces turned to the West; but in the Creed, and the vow of obedience, they turned to the East. The meaning of which symbolical practice has been thus explained: “the West is the place of darkness. Satan is
“darkness, and his strength is in darkness. For
“this reason you look to the West, when you re-
“nounce the prince of darkness.” And Ambrose says, “thou art turned to the East: for he that
“renounces the devil turns unto Christ;” intimating that turning to the East, or rising sun, was
con-

considered as a conversion from Satan unto Christ, a change from darkness unto light, from serving idols to worship the fountain of light, the sun of righteousness.

OF BOWING AT THE NAME OF JESUS.

There is a general practice in our churches of bowing here at the mention of the name of Jesus. I do not mean to censure any custom which is intended to express veneration for our Saviour; but the practice is founded on a passage of St. Paul too literally understood; “At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow.” The fathers, who in general studied holy Scripture with less judgment than devotion, understood these words to imply that the mention of the name of Jesus should be literally accompanied by an inclination of the person.---The xviiith canon directs that, “when in time of divine service, the name of the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed, testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgment, that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised.”---At present it is customary to do reverence, when the

name of Jesus is mentioned in this and the Nicene Creed. But these are the only instances in which the directions of the canon are generally followed. And our practice varies from that of the last century, if the following observation, supposed to be Bishop Overall's, is authentic: "In reading "the Holy Gospel," (the Gospel in the communion service, as appears from the context, is meant) "and *never else*, is adoration made at the name "of Jesus. For then only is it in its right exaltation, and then men stand up in a posture ready "to make reverence *."

The articles of the Creed are so frequently expounded in sermons, and so well explained in a variety of small catechetical and others tracts, thousands of which are annually dispersed throughout England by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and some of which must be presumed to be in the possession of every one into whose hands this work is likely to fall, that a particular exposition of each article is judged unnecessary. For a more full and accurate account of whatever relates to the Creed, reference may be had to Bishop Pearson, and the authors cited in the notes, from whom many of the preceding observations are drawn.

* See the Appendix to Nichol's Commentary.

TWO VERSICLES*

BETWEEN THE CREED AND LORD'S PRAYER.

The salutation of the priest, and the response of the people, which follow the Creed, are derived either from Ruth ii. 4, where Boaz says to the reapers, "the Lord be with you," and they reply, "the Lord blefs thee;" or from St. Paul, who uses the expression, "the Lord be with you all," and "the Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit." (2 Theff. iii. 16—2 Tim. iv. 2.)

These versicles, which are said to have been used by the apostles in their public worship, are found in the western Liturgy ascribed to St. Peter, and in most of the ancient Liturgies of the East. When some proposed to alter those expressions, a council held in 535 thought fit to ratify this form of Salutation, and to enjoin, that it should be used, without variation, according to the custom of all the East, where, as the acts of the council inform us, it was looked upon as an apostolic institution †.

In

* In Edward's first book, these two Versicles were placed at the end of the interlocutory sentences after the Lord's Prayer, and were followed by "Let us pray," which words were then said immediately before the first collect.

† (*Conc. Braccharen. Can. 21.*) In the Roman church this salutation is repeated seven times, during the celebration of the office of the

In the ancient offices the words often denote a transition from one part of the service to another, and in this light they may here be considered. Our consciences absolved from sin by confession, our affections elated with praise and thanksgiving, our understandings enlightened by hearing God's word, and our faith strengthened by a solemn profession, we now enter more particularly upon the business of prayer, and proceed "to ask those things which are requisite and necessary as well for the body, as the soul."

Before we begin to pray, the salutation of the priest reminds the people, that without God's assistance, their services cannot be profitably performed. It is also a seasonable petition that He would graciously be present with them in the offering of the sacrifice of those prayers, which the church has appointed to follow: that he would lift up their hearts, accept their devotions, and reward their services.

The people, remembering that their minister is going to present his supplications, and to offer up spiritual sacrifices for them, pray in return, that the same Lord may be graciously present with him, at all times, and especially in the performance of these holy duties. And where the minister and people, with proper dispositions, thus

the communion, in reference to the sevenfold gifts of the spirit. See the hymn in the ordination office, beginning "Come, Holy Ghost, thy sevenfold gifts inspire."

acknowledge their own insufficiency, declare their mutual love and charity, and reciprocally pray for each other, they will assuredly obtain a blessing from God.

LET US PRAY.

This exhortation, which is often repeated in the ancient Liturgies, as well as in our own, may be considered as an invitation to prayer in general, to ardent and intense prayer in particular. In the ancient Liturgies the assistant deacon is directed frequently to call upon the people to pray, to pray earnestly, and to pray still more earnestly *. And the same spirit of devotion our church breathes in her Liturgy by the frequent repetition of the words, “ Let us pray †.”

They here remind the people, that as they are now solemnly entering upon the grand duty of supplication and prayer, they should not suffer their thoughts to wander, nor their attention to abate : But that they should pray with fervency, and with holy importunity besiege the throne of heaven ‡.

* Δευθωμεν, εντενως δευθωμεν, εντενεστερον δευθωμεν. Greek and Oriental Liturgies.

† These words are addressed not to God, but to the congregation, of which *they* should be made sensible by the mode of delivery.

‡ Coimus ad Deum;—quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. *Tert. Apol. c. 39.*

In

In other parts of the service, they denote a transition from one form of prayer to another. In the Litany, for instance, where they are prefixed to the prayers, "O God, merciful Father," and "We humbly beseech thee," they signify, "let us here change our supplications by versicles alternately recited, into collects and prayers *," and at the same time are intended to excite the fervour of the congregation.

LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US, &c.

These three versicles were called sometimes the lesser Litany (*Litania minor*) sometimes the earnest or vehement supplication, (*εκτενης ικεσια*,) being a most pathetic address to each person of the Trinity. When these versicles were used alone, as a short form of supplication, they had the nature and name of a Litany. The first and third versicles are literal translations of the ancient *Kyrie Eleison* †. In the second versicle the word Lord was changed by the Latin church into Christ, to

* And this, I apprehend, they imported here in Edward's first book, where they follow the interlocutory sentences and the two versicles, and immediately precede the first collect. In the Latin Liturgies, and more especially in the Rubrics, the words *preces* and *orationes* seem to be thus distinguished: *Preces*, that is supplications, were those alternate petitions, where the people answered by responsive versicles. *Oratio*, the orison or prayer, and all the collects, were said by the priest alone, the people only answering, *Amen*.

† *Kyrie eleison*, i. e. Lord, have pity, or mercy.

shew, that it was addressed to the second person of the blessed Trinity, and to denote his divine and human nature *.

The Latins likewise repeated the versicles alternately, as we do ; but among the Greeks, the supplication was made by the common voice of the minister and the people. In the Romish church these versicles were repeated nine times. The reasons for this practice, may be seen in Durandus, Durantus, and other ritualists. *Kyrie Eleison*, though a Greek expression, was superstitiously retained untranslated by the Latin church. In the use of the Greek term they fancied there existed a peculiar efficacy, and by the recitation of these words extraordinary miracles are related to have been performed †.

When

* In medio mutatur *Kyrie* in *Christe*, ut notetur duas esse naturas in Christo. *Durand. Rat. Off. Div.*

† Magna est horum verborum efficacia, says Durandus, who, in support of the assertion, produces various instances of miracles, supposed to have been wrought by them. As a specimen, the following is extracted from a French writer on the Liturgy. Cette mesme priere (*Kyrie Eleison*) a esté en propres termes en vſage, tant en la Messe que hors de la Messe, dans l'Eglise Orientale, dès les premiers siecles ; ce que nous remarquons dans Amphilochius, en la vie qu'il a escrite de saint Basile ; où il est dit, que ce grand prelat ayant assemblé son peuple pour prier Dieu pour le mal-heurux Theophile, qui s'estoit donné au diable par vne scedule, & desiroit toutefois se releuer de cette obligation, en retractant sa promesse ; Ils passerent tout la nuit en prieres avec leur Pasteur, prians Dieu à chaudes larmes pour luy ; & crians, *Misericorde* ou *Kyrie eleison*, qui vent dire *Seigneur, ayez pitié*. En suite dequoy l'esprit malin ayant insulté insolemment
contre

When we consider the superstitious abuse of this ancient and valuable form, both among the Greek and Latin Christians, we must admire the wisdom, and the moderation of our first reformers; their moderation in not expunging from the Liturgy what had been so grossly abused; their wisdom in retaining this ancient form of supplication, but at the same time translating it into English, that all imputation of superstitious attachment to the original words might be removed.

The second council of Vaison observes, that in the East, and the provinces of Italy, an useful and agreeable custom prevailed of frequently saying the supplication, “ Lord have mercy upon us,” with great devotion and contrition: and enacts that in the Gallic church, it shall be introduced into the Morning and Evening Prayer, and the office of the holy communion *. in our daily service these versicles are placed before the repeti-

contre saint Basile, & s'estant vanté qu'il tenoit en main le scedule de ce Theophile, pour l'exposer au grand Jugement, ce saint Prelat pour l'obliger à la rendre, continua d'exhorte, toute l'assistance de hauffer leurs voix & leurs supplications vers le Ciel: Ce qu'estant fait, l'escrit fut rendu par vne main invisible, & mis dans les mains de saint Basile. *La Liturgie Sacree par Grimaud.*

* Quia tam in fede apostolica, quam etiam per totas Orientis, atque Italiae provincias, dulcis, & nimis salubris consuetudo intro-missa est, ut *Kyrie eleison*, frequentius cum grandi affectu, ac compunctione dicatur, placuit etiam nobis, ut in omnibus ecclesiis nostris illa consuetudo sancta, et ad Matutinum, et ad Missas, et ad Vesperas, Deo propitiante, intromittatur. Can. v.

tion of the Lord's Prayer, to which they form a proper introduction. For no prayer requires greater preparation than that divine form which proceeded from the lips of our Lord. Sometimes the Lord's Prayer is preceded by confession and absolution, but more generally by this shorter Litany, which instructs us to acknowledge our unworthiness, bewail our misery, and supplicate the mercy of God. After this, we may with humble confidence look up to our heavenly Father, and pray to him for farther blessings.

LORD'S PRAYER WHY REPEATED HERE.

Concerning the repetition of the Lord's Prayer in this place we may observe, that the practice of the church is sanctioned by the example of the author of this prayer. Christ himself prayed three times, saying the same words. When it was repeated in the beginning of the service, it was more particularly applied for the confirmation of our pardon and absolution. Here it has respect to the following prayers, which we have reason to presume will be more acceptable on its account. And if on the former occasion we did not offer any petition with suitable earnestness, we have now an opportunity of compensating for the omission, by asking with greater fervency, what was too flighty passed over before.

INTERLOCUTARY SENTENCES.

From the recital of the Lord's Prayer we proceed to the interlocutory petitions, all of which except two are taken out of the psalms. Whether it be entirely the effect of design, or something must be attributed to accident, these versicles are an epitome of the collects that regularly follow*. The duty of the congregation is to join in the one, and to listen with attention to the other.

The two first, from Ps. lxxxv. 7, containing general petitions for mercy and salvation, answer to the Sunday and weekly collects.—Mercy and preservation from evil, temporal or eternal, both of which are included in the term salvation, are most commonly the subjects of these Collects. The two next, taken from Ps. xx †., answer to the prayers for the King's Majesty and the Royal Family. The two following from ps. cxxxii. 9, appear to have been part of the Jewish Liturgy, and were used by Solomon at the dedication of the temple. These with the two succeeding versicles, from Ps. xxviii. 9, answer to the Collect for the clergy and people. The two next, taken proba-

* The Versicles stood when several of the Collects were wanting. Hence I am disposed to attribute something to design, but more to accident, unless we suppose that the collects were purposely framed to suit the versicles.

† See the last verse of the sep. version, and the vulgate.

bly from 1 Chron. xxii. 9, and Ps. cviii. 12, answer to the daily morning and evening collects for peace; and the two last from Ps. li. to the daily collects for grace.

These sentences are so significant and comprehensive, that it would not be an easy task to make a more judicious selection. Their meaning is so plain and obvious that they require no particular explication.

The priest is directed to *stand* during the repetition of the Versicles. This Rubric was added in the second book of Edward VI.—Standing is here no doubt a very proper attitude, but kneeling seems equally proper, and is more convenient to the minister *.

OF THE COLLECTS.

Collect is a term of great antiquity, having been mentioned by the writers of the third century. Whatever was its original acceptation, it now signifies any short comprehensive prayer. In our own church since the reformation it more particularly denoted the prayer prefixed to the epistle and gos-

* In the emendations proposed by the commissioners of 1691, the minister is directed to kneel. (Birch's Tillotson.) In our first English Liturgy he did kneel during the repetition of them, for there he is directed after they are said to *stand up*, when he says *Let us pray*, before the first Collect. See note p. 259.

pel at the administration of the Eucharist*. Of its use in this sense I shall give one instance, which will elucidate a Rubric, that may at first sight appear obscure, in the office for the burial of the dead.

The last prayer before the benediction in this office is entitled "the Collect," whereas the prayer preceding it, "Almighty God with whom do live, &c." which in the more general acceptation of the term is equally a collect, is not in the Rubric distinguished by this name. The reader will observe, that the former of these prayers has the word *priest* before it, and that after it comes the *collect*. Now it is well known, that the latter prayer, allowing for a few slight variations, is the very same that was ordered by Elizabeth to be used as the collect before the celebration of the Lord's Supper at funerals. To remove dirges, and other popish abuses, our reformers had struck at the root of these evils. They had removed the occasion of them, the celebration of the communion at burials. The Queen's proclamation however informs us, that notwithstanding the act of uniformity to the contrary †, (passed in the first year

* These Prayers are always called Collects. Yet in the more ancient church, the difference between a *prayer* and a *collect* was this: The *prayer* (*oratio*) was used before the sacrament, whereas the *collect* (*collecta*) was said in processions. (*Honor. cap. 94.*) The prayers in processions are with peculiar propriety called *collects*. (*Billet, de div. Off. ap. Durant.*)

† Peculiaria quædam in funebribus adjungi præcipimus, statuto illo

year of her reign) *she* had, in some cases, ordered the revival of this ceremony. At length however the practice of communicating at funerals was finally dropt, and though the rest of this service was dismissed, the prayer itself was wisely retained. That it is retained with its former title, *the Collect*, was probably the effect of oversight, or accident.

Of the origin of the name of Collects ritualists have given various and apparently contradictory accounts. Yet if we remember, that different churches had different usages*, and that the same church, in different ages, was not uniform in its practice, these various accounts will be found reconcileable, and may all probably be true.

1. Some say they were called collects, because many distinct petitions are collected into one body, and united in one prayer.

2. Others think they took their name from being collected out of the Holy Scriptures, for the collects for Sundays and Holidays are for the most part taken out of the portions of Scripture appointed to be read as epistles and gospels for

illo prædicto in contrarium non obstante.—The epistle was 1 Thess. iv. beginning at ver. 13 to the end. The gospel, either John vi. ver. 37 to 41, or John v. ver. 24 to 30. The service was in Latin, and intended for the use only of the two Universities, and the colleges of Winchester and Eton. See the proclamation prefixed to *Celebratio cænæ Domini in funebribus* in Sparrow's Collection.

* Addam pro Coronide, in divinis officiis maximam intercessisse varietatem, pro diversitate gentium, ac temporum. Durant. de Rit.

the

the day *, or at least they are generally accommodated to them.

3. Both these accounts, as far as they go, are reasonable enough, but they are definitions of the present sense of the word, rather than explications of the origin of the name. Ecclesiastical writers of great authority relate, as Cassander has observed, that Collects derived their name from their being repeated in the *Stations* †, or religious assemblies

* We must not extend this proposition too far. Many of our collects, epistles, and gospels are retained from ancient missals, but often with a remarkable variation, which, in a few instances, I shall endeavour to describe.—On the *fourth* Sunday after *Trinity* our collect is the same with that of the *Missal*, for the third Sunday after *Pentecost*; but the Epistle there is taken from Peter, and the Gospel from Luke xv.—On our fifth Sunday the collect is the same with that for the fourth in the *Missal*; but there the Epistle is the same with that which we use on our third.—On the sixth Sunday our Collect and Gospel correspond with those for the fifth in the *Missal*: the Epistle there is the same with ours for the fifth.—Similar variations between our collects, epistles, and gospels, and those appointed by the missals, will be found throughout the greater part of the Sundays after Trinity, and on other days: whence I conclude that the account of the origin of the name of collects, given under the second head, which our writers borrowed from the *Romanists*, cannot, on all occasions, serve both parties.

† Stations at first meant the meetings of Christians at the tombs of *martyrs*, &c.; and afterwards their assembling in other places for the purpose of performing public worship. In process of time Wednesday and Friday became stationary days. In *Litanical*, and other *processions*, *stations* were appointed at certain churches, at one of which the people met, and then proceeded to another. On the meeting, and during the procession, Collects were recited. This
last

semblies of the Roman church. On these occasions, it was customary for the bishop, or priest, after the *Introit*, when the people were collected, to recite prayers of this kind upon the collection of the people, or the people so collected. Hence by a little deviation from the original meaning, Collects became the general name of prayers conceived in this manner and form*.

4. But in ages more early than those, of which the writers mentioned by Cassander speak, the Greek *ἐπικλησις*, and the Latin, *collecta*, meant the collection, recapitulation, and recommendation, publicly made by the bishop or priest, of the prayers, which had been privately offered up by the people†.—The private prayers were made by the people kneeling; the Collect, or public reca-

last is the practice here alluded to.—*Illæ autem orationes specialius collectæ vocari videntur, quæ apud Romanos supra collectam populi fiunt, dum colligitur ut procedat, de una ecclesia in aliam ad stationem faciendam. Microl. ap Cassand.*

* Populo post introitum jam collecto, super illa populi collecta, seu populo collecto, ab episcopo, sive sacerdote recitari hujusmodi orationes consueverint; unde omnes orationes ad eam formam conscriptæ, per quendam abusum, collectæ dicerentur. *Cass. de Collect. & Miss. p. 308.*

† We have a form of one of these Collects, or recapitulations, in the apostolic constitutions. And a Gallican council (Con. Agathen. A. D. 506.) enacted, that when morning and evening service was performed, the bishop should conclude with his collect, or recommendation, and then dismiss the people with a benediction.

pitula-

pitulation, was afterwards pronounced by the minister alone, the people all standing*.

5. To me, says Cassander, it appears not improbable, that all those prayers, which were made at any meeting of the people, even in the morning and evening service, were called Collects†. And it is certain, that the ancient church first called these prayers Collects, from their being used when the people were come together, and collected in religious assemblies‡.

For general information on this subject I refer to the author last mentioned, and those cited by him: borrowing here a few remarks on the composition, and more particularly on the conclusion of Collects.

* Cassian speaking of this custom says, when he who collected the prayer rose up, they all rose up to accompany him who collected the prayer, or closed the whole with his concluding Collect. Cassian. Inst. lib. 11.

† At mihi non absurde dici posse videtur *Collectas*, sive quod idem valet *collectiones*, vocatas omnes illas orationes, quæ, non modo in celebratione sacræ communionis, sed in quavis synaxi, etiam matutina & vespertina super populo recitabantur. De Collect. & Miss.

‡ The meeting of Christians was called *collecta*, and the act of meeting *colligere*, *Dies collectæ* was the day of meeting. *Collectam agere* in the Latin vulgate is to assemble.—*Collectam celebrare* & *colligere* often occur in the Latin fathers and ecclesiastical writers in the same sense. In a comment found in many ancient copies of the *Ordo Romanus*, and published by Cassander, one question is, *Collecta unde nuncupatur?* the answer, *Eo quod populus colligitur in unum*. Our countryman Alcuinus says, *Precationes a populi collectione, collectæ appellari cœperunt*. See also Bona, Rer. Lit. p. 349, and Cassand. Liturg. c. xvi.

The Collects are generally addressed to the Father, agreeably to the precept of Christ, "When ye pray, say, Our Father, &c.," (Luke xi. 2,) and we conclude them through our Lord Jesus Christ, in obedience to his command. "Hitherto have ye asked nothing in my name: Ask and ye shall receive. Whatsoever ye shall ask of the Father in my name he will give it you." (John xvi. 23, 24.) Hence we conclude most of our prayers *in the name of, or through our Lord*. Sometimes Collects are addressed to the Son, and in the conclusion we occasionally commemorate each person of the blessed Trinity*.

The following rules concerning the variation of the conclusion of prayers or collects, are delivered by Cassander, as commonly received by the Catholic church. Each rule I have illustrated by an example taken, not from the ancient collects retained in our Liturgy, but from such as were composed since the reformation†. I began at Advent, and of the *new* Collects in our communion service selected the first that occurred. In the six first, I found an example illustrative of the spirit of each of the five rules. Farther examination might have supplied more specimens, but in this, as well as in other instances, farther proof was not wanting of what uniformly appears; I mean the piety and judgment of our reformers; and their attachment,

* Cassander, p. 309, from Micrologus.

† The instances given by Cassander could not with propriety be introduced. He refers to collects which are not found in our Liturgy.

and conformity to the approved practice of the ancient Catholic church.

Rule 1. When the prayer is addressed to the Father, and no mention is made of the Son, we say, “through our Lord Jesus Christ;” As in the Collect for the second Sunday in Advent, made in the year 1549.

2. When the Son is mentioned, we say, “through the same thy Son, Jesus Christ our Lord;” As in the Collect for the circumcision, composed in 1549.

3. When mention is made of the Son towards the *end* of the prayer, we say, “who with thee liveth and reigneth, ever one God, world without end;” As in the Collect for the sixth Sunday after the Epiphany, made in 1662.

4. When the prayer is addressed to the Son, in the conclusion we say, “who livest and reignest with the Father and the Holy Spirit, ever one God;” As in the Collect for the third Sunday of Advent, composed in 1662.

5. When mention is made of the Holy Spirit, we say in the conclusion, “the same Spirit;” As in the Collect for Christmas day, composed in 1549.

To these remarks on the introduction, and conclusion of prayers in general, I subjoin a table of the Collects for Sundays, and other holidays, as they now stand in our Liturgy; noting their origin, the time of their composition, and the principal variations they have undergone. The table, which was partly formed by Bishop Cosens, and
pub-

published by Dr. Comber, is divided into three compartments. The first consists of the Collects retained from ancient Liturgies: The second of such as were taken from ancient models, but were considerably altered and improved by our reformers. The third, of such as were composed anew, and substituted in the place of others, which, containing doctrines and positions that to our reformers seemed false, superstitious, or improper, were therefore rejected. By way of Appendix is inserted a table, exhibiting the principal variations made in the Epistles and Gospels at, and since, the reformation.

PART I.

Consisting of such Collects as were retained from ancient Liturgies at the reformation.

<i>Collects for</i>	<i>Whence taken.</i>
4 Sunday in Advent	In some old offices for the first Sunday in Advent
St. John's Day	St. Greg. Sacr. and Gothic. Liturg. Mabillon, p. 198
The Epiphany	St. Greg. Sacr.
1, 2, and 3 Sun. after Eph.	Ibid. and St. Ambros. Liturg. Pamelius, Tom. I. p. 316.
5 Epiph.	St. Greg. Sacr.
Septuagesima	Ibid.
Sexagesima	Ibid.
2, 3, 4, 5 Sunday in Lent	Ibid.
6 Sunday in Lent	Ibid. But in St. Ambros. Lit. for Good Friday
Good Friday, the 3 Collects	They are in all offices with little variation; but are left out of the breviaries of Pius V. and Clem. VIII.

Easter

Collects for

Whence taken.

Easter Day

Greg. Sac. and a collect almost the same in the Gallic Lit. Mabil. p. 336

3 Sunday after Easter

St. Greg. Sac. St. Ambros. Lit. Pamelius, p. 369

5 Sunday after Easter
Ascension Day

St. Greg. Sac.

Whitsunday

Ibid.

1 Sunday after Trinity

Ibid.

Ibid. This in some old offices is called the second after Pentecost; in others the first after the octaves of Pentecost. See St. Amb. Lit. p. 369

The 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10,
12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20,
21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, after
Trinity

Are all in St. Greg. Sac.

The Purification
St. Michael's Day

Ibid.

Ibid.

The reader will observe, that the greater part of this class of Collects is found in Gregory's Sacramentary, which was composed before the year 600. All of these, therefore, are at least 1200 years old, and many of them are much older. For Gregory did not originally form the offices. He only collected, and improved them*. To wave all other proof of this, we have his own testimony, given in vindication of his conduct. "I have followed," says he, "a practice common in the Greek church, and have altered some old Collects, and added some new and useful ones†." But the generality of the Collects in his Sacramentary he compiled from Liturgies, which, in *his* time, were esteemed ancient.

* See Wal. Strab. de Reb. Ecc.

† Græcorum consuetudinem secuti sumus, qui aut veteres nostras reparavimus, aut novas, & utiles constituimus.—Greg. Ep.

PART II.

Consisting of Collects, taken from ancient models, but considerably altered and improved by our Reformers, and the Reviewers of the Liturgy.

<i>Collects for</i>	<i>Time of Improvement.</i>	<i>How it stood before.</i>
St. Stephen's Day	Beginning added 1662	Grant us, O Lord, to learn to love our enemies, &c.
4 Sund. Epiph.	End improved 1662	Grant to us the health of body and soul, that all those things which we suffer for sin, &c.
4 after Easter	Improved 1662	Who makest the minds of all faithful people to be of one will, &c.
Sunday after Ascension	A little varied 1549	This had been of old the Collect for Ascension Day, on which our venerable Bede repeated it as he was dying. Malms. l. i. c. 3.
2 Sund. after Trinity	The order inverted 1662	Lord, make us to have a perpetual fear and love of thy holy name, for thou never failest, &c.
8 Sund. Trinity	Beginning improved 1662	Whose providence is never deceived, &c.
11 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	That we running to thy promises, may be made partakers of thy heavenly treasure, &c.
18 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	To avoid the infections of the devil, &c.
19 S. after Trinity	Improved 1662	That the working of thy mercy may in all things, &c.

Collects

Collects for	Time of Improvement.	How it stood before.
St. Paul's Day	Improved 1549 and 1662	In the Breviaries * a new prayer was added, mentioning St. Paul's intercession; An. 1549 the old prayer alone out of Greg. Sac. was restored, which had <i>our walking after his example only</i> , which was a little varied an. 1662
The Annunciat.	Improved 1549	The breviaries had put in a new prayer about the B. Virgin's intercession, which was cast out in 1549, and the form, being in St. Greg. Sac. Pamel. 211. restored.
St. Phil. and James	Improved 1662	As thou hast taught St. Philip and the other Apostles, &c.
St. Bartholomew	Improved 1662	<i>To preach that which he taught, &c.</i> was altered, because there is no writing of his extant.
Trinity Sunday		This Collect is no older than the Sacramentary ascribed to Alcuinus. The old offices have another Collect for it, and call it the octave of Pentecost.

* Had Dr. Comber said Missal instead of Breviary he would have been more correct. For though the collect of the day was used in the Breviary, yet it was taken from the Missal. Thus, in our Morning Prayer, the Rubric directs that the *first* collect, i. e. the collect of the day, "shall be the same that is appointed at the communion." By members of our church, and dissenters, the *Breviary*, *Missal*, and *Ritual*, three very different books, are at present generally confounded. The *Breviary* contains mattins, lauds, &c. and if the reader considers it, as corresponding with our daily service, he will not form a very erroneous opinion. The *Missal*, or Mass Book, answers to "the order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper," together with "the collects, epistles, and gospels to be used throughout the year." The *Ritual* is composed of occasional offices, viz. baptism, matrimony, visitation of the sick, &c.

PART III.

Consisting of such Collects as were composed anew, and substituted in the place of those that, containing either false or superstitious Doctrines, were on this account rejected.

<i>Collects for</i>	<i>Composed in</i>
1 Sunday Advent.	1 Book of Edward VI. 1549
2 Sunday in Advent.	The same time
3 Sunday Advent.	1662
Christmas Day.	1549
Circumcision.	The same time
6 Sunday after Epiphany.	1662, before they repeated the Collect for the fifth Sunday
Quinquagesima.	1549
Ash-Wednesday.	The same time
1 Sunday in Lent.	The same time
Easter Even.	1662—No Collect for it ever before then
Easter Sunday.	The first sentence (1 Cor. v. 7.) was added 1662
1 Sunday after Easter.	1549—Then it was used on Easter Tuesday, and in 1662 was fixed for this Sunday
2 Sunday after Easter.	An. 1549
St. Andrew's Day	An. 1552—2 Book of Ed. VI.
St. Thomas's Day	} All composed anew in 1549.
St. Matthias	
St. Mark	
St. Barnabas	
St. John Baptist	
St. Peter	
St. James	
St. Matthew	
St. Luke	
St. Simon and Jude	
All Saints	

Yet in the composition of some of these Collects, the compilers appear to have had an eye to the Missals and the Breviaries. They have, in some

some instances, preserved the introduction, and amplified or given a different turn to the petitions.

Many of the portions of Scripture, which we call Epistles and Gospels, were, in the ancient church, selected for the Sundays and Holidays on which they are now used. In the works of the *fathers* there are homilies upon them, which are said to have been preached on the very days, to the service of which they are now appropriated. According to Dr. Comber, the following are the principal variations made at and since the reformation.

Epistles and Gospels for

Variations made

St. John's Day.

1 John i. 1, by Edw. VI. instead of a lesson out of Wisdom

Sunday after Christmas.

Gosp. Matt. i. 1, by Edw. VI. instead of Luke ii. In 1662 the Genealogies were left out
Ep. and Gosp. both changed by Edw. VI.

Circumcision.

Epiphany.

Epist. Eph. iii. 1, by Edw. VI. instead of a passage out of Isaiah
Ep. Rom. xiii. 1, by Edw. VI. before, the same with the first Sunday in Advent

6 Sunday after Epiphany.

Ep. and Gof. both new, 1662

Monday before Easter.

Ep. and Gof. new by Edw. VI. instead of an apocry. lesson

Wednesday before Easter.

Ep. Heb. ix. 16, by Edw. VI. instead of a lesson out of Leviticus

Thursday before Easter.

Gof. Luke xxiii. by Edw. VI. instead of John xix.

Good Friday.

Gof. John xix. Epist. Heb. ii. 1, by Edw. VI. instead of portions out of Hosea and Exodus

Easter Even.

Ep. and Gosp. both new by Edw. VI. instead of two passages from the Old Testament

25 Sunday after Trinity.

Ep. and Gof. both new, Ed. VI.

St. Thomas's Day.

Ep. Eph. ii. 19, by Ed. VI.

St. Mark's Day.

Ep. and Gof. both new, Ed. VI.

St. Philip and Jacob.

Ep. and Gof. both new, Ed. VI.

St. James's Day.

Ep. Acts xi. 27, by Ed. VI.

<i>Epistles and Gospels for</i>	<i>Variations made</i>
St. Barnabas.	Ep. and Gof. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Bartholomew.	Ep. and Gof. both new, Ed. VI.
St. Matthew.	Ep. 2 Cor. iv. 1, by Ed. VI.
St. Luke.	Ep. and G. both new, Ed. VI.
All Saints' Day.	Ep. Rev. vii. 2, by Ed. VI. *

* There are some Epistles and Gospels which are not in the *Lecti-
tionary*, but were changed in the Roman Breviary for the better. The reformers took these out of the Breviary, viz. the Gospels for St. Thomas, St. James, and all Saints' Days; the Epistle for Simon and Jude; both Epistles and Gospels for St. Paul, St. Matthias, and the Annunciation. (Dr. Comber here, probably in the moment of inadvertency, mistakes the *breviary* for the *missal*. The *breviary* contains no part of the office of the *holy communion*. See note, p. 275. The Epistles and Gospels alluded to above were taken from the *missals* in use at the time of the reformation: and they are retained without variation in more modern *missals*, as well as in our *book of the administration of the sacraments*.)

The preceding table is fitted rather for the information of the inquisitive, than for the benefit of the devout. For the use of the latter, I here insert a common table of the Collects for Sundays and holidays arranged alphabetically, according to the different subjects of which they treat:

AFFLICTION.

Prayers for deliverance from, and support under Affliction.—Collects for the third Sunday after the Epiphany, eighth after Trinity, and fifth Sunday in Lent.

ANGELS.

For the guardianship of Angels—Collect for St. Michael.

CHARITY.—See LOVE.

CHASTITY.

For Chastity—Col. for the first Sunday in Lent.

CHRIST.

CHRIST.

For the imitation of Christ—Collects for the Sunday next before Easter, and the second Sunday after Easter.

For the benefit of Christ's death—Collect for the Annunc.

CHURCH.

For the Universal Church—Collects for the fifth Sunday after Epiphany, the third Sunday after Easter, St. John the Evangelist, and the two first Collects for Good-Friday.

For the unity of the Church——Collect for St. Simon and St. Jude.

For the Peace of the Church—Collects for the fifth, sixteenth, and twenty-second Sundays after Trinity.

COMFORT.

For spiritual Comfort—Col. for the Sun. after the Ascen.

CONTRITION.

For Contrition——Collect for Ash-Wednesday.

COVETOUSNESS.

Against Covetousness—Collect for St. Matthew's Day.

COURAGE.

For Christian Courage——Collect for St. John Baptist.

ENEMIES.

For deliverance from Enemies—Collect for the third Sunday in Lent.

EXAMPLE.

That we may follow the Example of Christ—Collects for the Sun. next before Easter, and the second Sun. after Easter.

FAITH.

For a right and firm Faith—Collects for Trinity Sunday, St. Thomas, and St. Mark.

For Faith, Hope, and Charity—Collect for the fourteenth Sunday after Trinity.

GRACE.

For Grace and Assistance in our Christian Course—Collects for the fourth Sunday in Advent, second in Lent, Easter-Day, third Sunday after Easter, and the first, seventh and thirteenth, after Trinity.

HEAVEN.

For Heavenly Desires—Collect for Ascension-Day

For admittance to the enjoyment of God in Heaven—Cols. for the Epiphany, the sixth Sunday after Epiphany, and the Sunday after Ascension.

HUMILITY.

For Humility and patience—Collect for the Sunday before Easter.

ILLUMINATION.

For Illumination, or a right Judgment in all things—Colls. for Whitsunday, first Sunday after Epiphany, and the ninth after Trinity.

JUDGMENTS.

For deliverance from Judgments—Cols. for
Sep-

Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and the fourth Sunday in Lent.

LOVE.

For the Love of God and his laws——Collects for the fourth Sunday after Easter, and the sixth, seventh, and fourteenth after Trinity.

For Love and Charity——Collect for Quinquagesima Sunday.

MINISTERS.

For the fitness of Ministers——Collect for St. Matthias.

That they may be dilligent——Collect for St. Peter's Day.

That their labours may be successful——Collect for the third Sunday in Advent.

MORTIFICATION.

For Mortification——Cols. for Circumcision and Easter-Eve.

OBEDIENCE.

That we may obey, and follow the doctrine of the Apostles——Collects for the conversion of St. Paul, and St. John Baptist——See GOOD WORKS.

PRAYERS.

For the acceptance of our Prayers——Collect for the tenth Sunday after Trinity.

PROVIDENCE.

For Protection by God's Providence——Collects for the second, third, fourth, and twentieth Sundays after Trinity.

PURITY.

PURITY.

For Purity of Heart—Collect for Purification.

REGENERATION.

For it—Collect for Christmas-Day.

RELIGION.

That we may be truly religious—Collect for the seventh Sunday after Trinity.

SAINTS.

For the imitation of them—Collects for Innocents Day, St. Stephen, St. Philip, St. James, St. John Baptist, and All Saints.

SCRIPTURE.

Before reading the Scripture—Collect for the second Sun. in Advent.

SIN.

For conversion from Sin—Collects for the first Sunday in advent, the first Sunday after Easter, St. Andrew, St. James, and St. Matthew.

For pardon of Sin—Collects for the twelfth, twenty-first, and twenty-fourth Sundays after Trinity.

SINCERITY.

For it—Collect for the third Sunday after Easter.

HOLY SPIRIT.

For the direction of the Holy Spirit—Collects for the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity, and fifth after Easter.

TEMPTATIONS.

For deliverance from, and support under Temptations

tations—Collects for the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, and the second in Lent.

THOUGHTS.

Against evil thoughts—Col. for the fifth Sun. after Easter.

UNBELIEVERS.

For Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics—The third Col. for Good-Friday.

GOOD WORKS.

For fruitfulness in Good Works—Collects for the fifth Sunday after Easter, and the first, ninth, eleventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, and twenty-fifth Sundays after Trinity.

OF THE SECOND COLLECT.

The title of this prayer is a Collect for peace. Peace is the happiness of the earth and a type of heaven. All earthly blessings are nothing without it*, and in it all heavenly blessings are comprehended. Peace was the first legacy bequeathed to the world, through our blessed Redeemer, and peace was the last bequest of our dying Lord to his disciples. That the world might be in peace was part of the daily prayer of the primitive

* Si non pax, nihil. Adag. Heb. ap Fabium.

Christians *. What they practised in their lives, they petitioned at the throne of grace, and this for the Heathens †, among whom they lived, as well as for the church of God.—Thrice a day they prayed for peace ‡, and in imitation of their example, we are directed by our church to implore this blessing in both our morning and evening services. Let our lives be conformable to our prayers: let us endeavour as much as possible to live peaceably with all men. In our prayers we claim our relation to the Almighty as sons of the God of peace. And woe to us, if our actions invalidate the title, and manifest us to be the children of variance and strife.

This Collect, copied with some little variation from a form in the Sacramentary of Gregory, is not more remarkable for its antiquity, than for its piety and comprehensive brevity. Its sentiments so briefly expressed in the original §, and expanded to advantage in the English translation, may perhaps still admit of illustration by a paraphrase.—O God, from whom proceeds the blessing of peace, (Is. 45. 7.) who exhortest thy servants

* Orbem pacatum (Tertull. Apol.) obsecramus Deum pro tranquillitate mundi. (Cyp.)

† Pro gentium pace & salute. (Cyp.)

‡ Chrysoſt. Hom. iii. in iii. ad Coloss.

§ Deus, auctor pacis et amator, quem nosse vivere, cui servire regnare est, protege ab omnibus impugnationibus supplices tuos, ut qui in defensione tua fidimus, nullius hostilitatis arma timeamus, per Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum; Amen.

to live in unity and godly love (2 Cor. xiii. 11.) in knowledge of whom everlasting life and happiness consist, (John xvii. 3.) and whose service is pleasant as well as profitable, because it is perfect freedom from the slavery of Satan and of sin, (1 Cor. vii. 22, and John viii. 36.) graciously defend us, who humbly commit ourselves to thy protection, from all the attempts of our adversaries both spiritual and temporal, and grant that we who put our whole trust and confidence in thy mercy, may be delivered from the fear of those evils, which the craft and subtilty of the devil, or man worketh against us. These blessings we implore through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who has despoiled the powers of darkness, (Col. ii. 15.) who is able to deliver us from every evil work, (2 Tim. iv. 18.) and whom we acknowledge to be our only Saviour, and Redeemer. Amen.

THE THIRD COLLECT.

This prayer is entitled a Collect for grace. Grace and Peace, which in holy Scripture are joined together, the church of England has not separated in her daily devotions. She knows, that without grace there can be neither lasting nor real peace, and that peace without grace would prove no blessing. Peace, in the language of Scripture includes all temporal goods, plenty, prosperity, health, and happiness*. But the enjoyment of

* Comprehendit *χαλρειν, υγιαίνειν, και ευπραττειν*. Druf. in Gen. xxix,

these is apt to lead men into forgetfulness of God, and exposes them to numerous dangers and various temptations. Temporal blessings, if they do not occasionally excite, always afford the opportunity of gratifying voluptuous appetites, and of indulging criminal pleasures. It is grace alone that can ensure the comforts of genuine peace, and by petitioning for grace we improve our former request. Grace being so essential to our happiness, we address ourselves to the inexhaustible fountain of grace, to him who is more ready to give than we to ask, under the titles of our heavenly Father, Almighty and everlasting God. Our heavenly Father, who pities and loves us, delights to do us good. He is Almighty, and therefore able to relieve us. His mercy, and ability we have no reason to doubt, for he changes not, but “is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.” He is God from everlasting to everlasting, world without end. The care of the Church in prefixing to the Collects, Attributes, appropriate to the requests which they contain, has been already noticed. Thus, whilst she directs us, what we ought to pray for, she cheers our hearts, and enlivens our devotions; adds wings to our petitions, and gives energy to our faith. The substance of this Collect was borrowed from an ancient form in the Eastern church. The sense is so plain and clear, that to the comment already given, no particular paraphrase need be annexed.

What

What has been remarked of the excellence and antiquity of this, and the preceding Collect, is likewise observable of the Collects in general. Indeed it is the honest boast of the church of England at home, and her praise abroad, that her Common Prayer “corresponds with the best and most ancient Liturgies, which were used in the church in the most primitive and purest times *.” The original compilers, and the subsequent reviewers and improvers of our Liturgy were desirous to preserve not only the spirit, but as far as possible, the very form and substance of those precious remains †. That the greater part of the Collects retained in the book of Common Prayer, were the production of the ancient fathers of the church is a consideration which to the pious Christian will afford satisfaction and delight. In the Collects and Prayers of the church, we offer up those consecrated devotions, which from the mouths and hearts of holy men, have, from age to age, ascended like the incense up to heaven, and have been a more pleasing and acceptable sacrifice to the Almighty, than “thousands of rams” and ten thousands of rivers of oil.”

* Directions to Commissioners in 1661.

† On this subject Renaudotius, in the first Dissertation prefixed to the Collection of Oriental Liturgies, gives his testimony in these words. *ANGLI SOLI, & Lutherani, veteres illas collectas servaverunt, plenas fidei & pietatis; quas Calvinistæ, aliis a se excogitatis commutaverunt, verbosis ut plurimum, novitatemque redolentibus.*

Here, after the third Collect, ended the order of Morning Prayer from its first appearance in 1549, to its last review in 1661. Till this latter era, the prayers that follow were placed near the end of the Litany, immediately after, "We humbly beseech thee," and after them stood the occasional prayers and thanksgivings, all of which it would appear from the old books, made a part of the Litany.*

PRAYERS AFTER THE THIRD COLLECT.

In the preceding Collects our supplications have in general been confined to the obtaining of blessings for ourselves. In conformity to the exhortation delivered by St. Paul on a subject which he assures us is of primary importance, the church now proceeds to make prayers and intercessions for all men, for kings and all that are in authority under them. The object and end of these intercessions is, that we may, as men and citizens, lead quiet and peaceable lives, and as Christians have our conversation in all godliness, honesty, and sobriety.

In the three Collects that follow, we pray for the whole body of the church, and for the different

* Still I think the prayers for the King's Majesty, for the Queen, and Royal Family, and for the Clergy and People, were, before the last review, said after the Morning Prayer, and were not used when the Litany was read.

members of it, in a proper gradation. First, for the King's Majesty : Secondly, for the Queen and Royal Family : and, Thirdly, for the clergy and people *.

PRAYER FOR THE KING'S MAJESTY.

The Christian church, in all ages and places, has, in her public devotions, uniformly made prayers and intercessions for the rulers and governors of the state. This she did, when they were enemies to the faith, and persecutors of its professors †. After the rulers of the world embraced Christianity, they were mentioned by name in the public prayers. Not only the names, but the titles of Christian kings were inserted in the ancient Liturgies, where they were never spoken of, but

* In this gradation the church of England, probably out of respect for its "*Supreme Head* upon earth," has deviated a little from the more ancient and general custom, which was, to mention first, the bishops and clergy ; then the prince and the imperial house ; and lastly, the people.

† Scitote ex literis nostris præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis, etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, & persecutoribus nostris bona precari. (Tert. Apol.) Nos pro salute imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum. Denique sine monitore (among the Heathens a monitor dictated the prayers from a book, that nothing might be forgotten) sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum. (Ibid. c. 30.)—Oramus pro imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum, pro rerum quiete. (Ibid.)

in terms expressive of affection, and most honourable respect *. Loyalty to her king is the boast, and the glory of the church of England. The spirit of Christian Loyalty breathes in her devotional offices, and has ever been displayed in the lives of her sons.

This prayer consists principally of two parts; the introduction and the petitions.—The introduction, expressed in sublime and appropriate titles, is a noble confession of our faith, that God is the supreme governor of the world, and that his providence extends over all the inhabitants of the earth. It is at the same time an argument for confidence, that we shall obtain our requests. We address God, as “our Lord and heavenly father, “high and mighty, king of kings, Lord of Lords, “the only ruler of princes, who from his throne “beholds all the dwellers upon earth;” and beseech him to behold with the eyes of his favour our lawful monarch and most gracious sovereign Lord, King GEORGE: more particularly requesting God to grant him spiritual grace, heavenly gifts, temporal prosperity, and everlasting felicity.

* In some Liturgies we find these expressions. The king, the king appointed to reign, the king by thy just judgment, &c. In these and all instances where nothing is said in praise of his faith, &c. Pagan, or Mahometan monarchs are meant. When Christian princes are spoken of, the titles, most religious, pious, Christian, faithful, &c., are applied. Hence, it is said, we may commonly discover whether a Liturgy has been composed or used under an Infidel, or a Christian king. See Renaudot. Lit Orient.

Under

Under temporal prosperity the prayer includes victory over his enemies; “that he may vanquish” and subdue all his enemies.” By the enemies of the established church, this and similar passages in our Liturgy have been misrepresented, as recommending aggrandizement and conquest. On Christian principles, the church must presuppose, that Christian princes will engage in no wars, which are not undertaken in just and necessary defence.—She knows, that all war, excepting in cases of unjust aggression from abroad, or unnecessary resistance to the measures of government at home, is equally repugnant both to the letter and spirit of the religion taught by JESUS CHRIST. In her offices day by day she prays for peace. In her Litany, or general supplication, thrice a week, she deprecates war, and from “battle and murder” entreats deliverance. Whenever she prays for a blessing on the arms of her sovereign, and for victory over all his enemies, she must be understood to pray for the ends of victory: The preservation of the lawful and just rights of his Majesty, and of these Realms, deliverance from the power of enemies, and the restoration of quietness and peace*.

The

* The five following passages promiscuously taken from Renaudot's Collection of Oriental Liturgies, will elucidate the meaning of the church of England, wherever she prays for a blessing upon the arms of her sovereign. ——— Præsta memoriam bonam regibus & reginis Deum timentibus; *da illis victoriam adversus eos, qui bello illos aggrediuntur.* Tom. II. p. 462. ——— Memento, Domine, piorum regum nostrorum; apprehende arma & scutum, & surge in auxilium

The prayer appears to be selected from ancient Liturgies, and in particular from the Sacramentary of Gregory †. It was first added to our book of Common Prayer in the reign of Elizabeth, and in the sealed books is entitled “ a Prayer for

” the blank being left to be filled from time to time as circumstances may require by the privy council, agreeably to the act of uniformity, passed in the reign of Charles II.

eorum—*Subjice illis hostes omnes, ut placidam, tranquillamque vitam agamus, in omni timore Dei, &c.* Lit. S. Jacob.——*Ut victores & triumphatores appareant adversus inimicos crucis.*——*Pugna pro iis (regibus fidelibus) adversus inimicos; lupos, atque tyrannos, qui avide, frendent dentibus contra oves gregis tui sancti, perde & dissipa.* Lit. Jac. Edess.——*Da illis victoriam & triumphum de illis qui eos oderunt, immitte pacem cordibus eorum, ut cum timore & puritate gubernent gregem tuum.* Lit. Ignat.

† I quote at length the prayer in Gregory's Sacramentary for the purpose of shewing how the compilers improved what they imitated, and that this prayer is not taken almost verbatim from Gregory, as some writers on our Liturgy have asserted.

Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, qui es fons immarcescibilis lucis, & origo perpetuæ bonitatis, regum consecrator, honorum omnium attributor, dignitatumque largitor, cujus ineffabilem clementiam votis omnibus exoramus, ut famulum tuum, (A. B.) quem regalis dignitatis fastigio voluisti sublimari, sapientiæ, cæterarumque virtutum ornamentis facias decorari: & quia tui est muneris quod regnet tuæ pietatis quod id feliciter agat; quatenus in fundamento spei, fidei, charitatisque fundatus, peccatorum labe absterfus, de visibilibus & indivisibilibus hostibus triumphator effectus; cum jugis prolis felici effectû letificatus, subjecti populi augmento, prosperitate, & securitate exhilaratus, cum iis mutua connexione connexus, & transitorii regni gubernacula inculpabiliter teneat, & ad æterni infinita gaudia, te miserante, perveniat, per Jesum Chrystum, &c.

PRAYER

PRAYER FOR THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Intercessions for the Royal Family are authorised by the practice of the ancient Christians, who prayed for the welfare of the palace and the imperial house *. This prayer was added to our Liturgy under James I., before whom no protestant sovereign had issue. At its first appearance it began “ Almighty God, which hast promised to be “ a father to thine elect and their seed.” These words were perhaps thought too favourable to Calvinistic opinions, for they were afterwards expunged. The present introduction, “ Almighty “ God, the fountain of all goodness,” was borrowed from an ancient Saxon prayer, which is said to have been composed for the coronation of a Queen.

In the composition of this, as well as of the preceding prayer, the compilers seem to have had an eye to that in Gregory’s Sacramentary quoted in the opposite page. Though the prayers for “ the King’s Majesty” and “ the Royal Family” differ in expression, the petitions of both are nearly the same. The blessings we here implore for our gracious Queen CHARLOTTE, their Royal Highnesses GEORGE Prince of Wales, and the Princess of Wales, and all

* Pro piissimo imperatore, omnique palatio. (Lit. Bas. & Chryf.) Domum tutam. (Tert.) Pro imperatore cum sua prole orationes & oblationes agantur. (Conc. Rheim.)

the Royal Family, are, divine grace, happiness upon earth, and everlasting glory in the kingdom of heaven.

PRAYER FOR THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE.

After praying for the King, and the different branches of the Royal Family, the church now proceeds to pray for all men, for the whole Christian world, described here by “bishops, curates, and all congregations committed to their charge.” This division corresponds with that of the ancient church in which these degrees are enumerated and prayed for. In the ancient liturgies, patriarchs, metropolitans, arch-bishops, and the bishop of the diocese were mentioned by name, as the King, the Queen, and the Prince of Wales, are in our service.—The Bishops are the guides and governors of the church of Christ. With the highest dignity they have the weightiest charge. By being advanced above all, they become the servants of all *. They are entrusted with the power of choosing and ordaining ministers. They stand solemnly engaged by their ordination and consecration vows to preach the word, and minister godly discipline, to banish erroneous doctrines, and as far as their ability extends to correct and punish public crimes †. Their arduous employment is, to promote the peace of the church, and the interests of

* Episcopus servus servorum Dei.

† See the office of the consecration of a bishop.

true religion, by OVERSEEING both the clergy and the people.—On them, in their respective dioceses, lies the daily care of all the churches: besides their avocations in the great council of the nation, where, as peers of the realm, they are employed in settling and adjusting affairs of the highest importance to the interests both of church and state.

If we duly consider what accomplishments, and what exertions are requisite for the performance of the duties of their high station, and for the faithful discharge of the great and sacred trust reposed in them, we shall naturally exclaim with the apostle, “Who is sufficient for these things?” And in our daily prayers shall most earnestly and devoutly implore the salutary spirit of the divine grace, and the continual help of God’s blessing for every member of this sacred order, and more especially for our own Diocesan.

After the Bishops we pray for Curates. By the word curates, the church does not mean in particular to describe what the term now generally imports, assistant curates, who for a stipend sometimes irregularly paid, and seldom equal to the wages of an ordinary mechanic, perform all the duties of a parochial minister. These indeed need our prayers, and their case demands assistance of another kind*. But by curates the church means all those to whom the bishop, as chief pastor under

* Since this was written. “An Act for the better Support and Maintenance of Curates” has been passed.

Christ, has committed the *cure*, or care of some part of his flock. Their office is to catechise the young, to instruct the ignorant, to encourage the good, to reprove the wicked, to help the weak-hearted, to comfort the afflicted, to relieve the distressed, to visit the sick, to present the prayers of the congregation, to preach the word of God, to administer the holy sacraments, and to perform the other rites and ceremonies appointed by the church. They are required, not only to be diligent in teaching, exhortation, and prayer; and in the study of the holy Scriptures; but they are likewise to shew themselves a pattern of all Christian virtues and graces, that, both by their doctrine and example, they may be a means of saving the souls of those committed to their charge. When we reflect upon the extent and importance of the sacred office, we shall require no farther considerations to induce us to pray for the clergy, as well knowing that without the grace of God assisting his labours, the best endeavours of the ablest minister of the Gospel, will be unprofitable and vain. Even St. Paul himself, though possessing every possible qualification for the due discharge of the work of the ministry, was so sensible of his own insufficiency, that we find him repeatedly beseeching the churches to whom he addressed his epistles, “to pray for him, to pray that utterance might be given unto him to make known the mystery of the Gospel.” (Eph. vi. 19, Col. i v. 3.) And notwithstanding all his perseverance

severance and labour in the vineyard of Christ, he makes this modest and virtuous confession "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase." (1 Cor. iii. 6.)

In the last place we pray for the people, of whom it is required that they be open to instruction, willing to learn God's word, desirous to practise it, and disposed to do their duty in their respective stations and callings.—For these different orders, of which the community consists, we began especial blessing of God, beseeching him that he would send down the gracious influence of his holy spirit, like dew, into our hearts, to quicken the seed that is sown, that it may bring forth the fruits of a virtuous and godly life. This we ask not with a design to advance our own glory, but for the manifestation of the glory of our advocate and mediator who has purchased these blessings for us, and whose name is magnified by the increase of his church, and the salvation of mankind.

The objection started by some against the propriety of the introductory words, "who alone
"workest great marvels," proves in the objectors, either unbecoming levity, or deplorable ignorance of the language of Holy Scripture. Have we not heard with our ears, and have not our fathers told us, what marvellous works the Lord has wrought for his church? At the first planting of the Gospel, the apostles were inspired by the Holy Ghost,
I and

and endowed with the miraculous power of healing, of prophesying, and speaking in unknown tongues. And though the operations of the Holy Spirit are not so visibly manifested, yet his assistance is as requisite, and will as surely be communicated now, as it was in the time of the apostles. The conversion of sinners, by what some call the foolishness of preaching, is perhaps as great a miracle, as that of creating light out of darkness. To conceive aright the efficacy of the divine word, we must consider what man is by nature, and what he becomes by the power of grace: Now man in Scripture is said to be like a wild ass's colt, (Job. xi. 12.) untamed, untractable in his disposition, and as the apostle assures us, "not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be." (Rom. viii. 7.) It is grace alone that corrects the depravity of our nature, subdues our unruly affections, and makes us the proper subjects of divine discipline and culture. By conversion we are taken, as it were, out of our natural soil, and transplanted into the garden of God*, where we require "the healthful spirit of his grace," to make us vegetate and flourish, and the dew of the divine blessing, to enable us to bring forth the fruits of a good life. But this can only be effected by the influence of God's holy spirit; and therefore when we address him for the constant and daily supplies of his grace we invoke

* Philo calls man a celestial plant, whose root springs from Heaven.
him

him as the author of miracles, the God who “alone doeth wonders”, who first conducted us through the waters of baptism, as through the waves of the Red Sea, and continues to support and nourish us with that spiritual food, which descends like Manna † from heaven.

The model from which this prayer was taken is found in Gregory’s Sacramentary. The prayer does not appear in either of Edward’s books, though it stands in the breviary of Sarum, and is annexed to the Litany in some of Henry’s primers. It was inserted in the first year of Elizabeth.

PRAYER OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

From the preceding observations, it has already appeared, that the venerable composers of our Liturgy were not influenced by that vain affectation of novelty, by which more modern reformers seem to have been actuated. Where ancient offices afforded them forms of prayer, suited to their circumstances, these forms they took as models in the composition of their work, reserving to themselves the liberty of making such alterations, additions, and improvements, as they conceived to

* Song of Moses. Exod. xv. 11.

† Manna was itself probably formed of dew, and both are intended as natural emblems of the divine grace, which like dew distils in a secret and invisible manner.

be proper, This is called the prayer of St. Chrysostom, because it is almost literally taken out of a Greek Liturgy, commonly ascribed to him *. The church of England adopted it, and placed it here, not knowing where to find a prayer, or persons able to compose a prayer, more excellent, or better adapted to the conclusion of the daily service.

The preface contains two grounds and reasons for hoping, that our prayers will be accepted: our present experience of God's grace, which has enabled us unanimously and devoutly to make our common, that is, our united, supplications unto him. He who gave us this grace, we humbly trust, will grant our requests. But that we may not quit the throne of grace, till all doubt of the efficacy of our petitions is removed, we urge the infallible promise of him who is the life and the truth, in whom all the promises of God are YEA and AMEN, and who has assured us, that when two or three are gathered together in his name, he will grant their requests. We beg him to fulfil the desires of our hearts, and the petitions of our lips; but with this reserve, only so far as his infinite wisdom knows it expedient for us, learning from his example to submit our will to the will of

* It may be necessary to inform some readers, that this prayer does not occur in any of the works of Chrysostom, which the learned admit to be genuine. Yet the prayer is certainly very ancient; and might be the production of Chrysostom.

God. For two things however, without any apprehension of appearing arrogant, or presumptuous, we positively and importunately pray; the knowledge of all necessary religious truth in this world; and when we pass out of this world into the world to come, life everlasting: Being fully assured, that if these two points, the knowledge of God here, and the enjoyment of him hereafter, be secured, every thing else is comparatively of little value*.

This, with some other prayers in our Liturgy, is not, like the greater part of the prayers, addressed to the Father, but to the Son, to Jesus Christ, our redeemer and mediator.—On this account the conclusion is different from that of the prayers in general †.

THE BENEDICTION.

In their religious assemblies it was the custom of the Jewish churches to dismiss the congregation with a final blessing, which was solemnly uttered by the priest, and received with the utmost reverence by the people. For this purpose the church of England has here and in some of the other offices, adopted, with two variations, the words of

* The prayer in the original language is the same with that in the common Greek translation of our Liturgy, excepting only that we have added two introductory words. It begins “Thou that hast given us grace,” &c.

† On the conclusion of collects and prayers, see p. 271.

St. Paul, 2 Cor. xiii. 14. In consequence of turning the words addressed by Paul to men, into an address to God, *you* was necessarily changed into *us*, and the word *evermore* was added.

It is not strictly a Benediction, or blessing. It is rather an intercessionary prayer, wherein the priest implores a blessing for himself, as well as for the congregation. Though it is pronounced by the minister alone, the congregation ought mentally to address it to God.—The church has made it, and calls it a prayer *, and therefore the minister is directed to kneel. In this prayer, the minister commits himself and the people, to the care and protection of the ever-blessed Trinity, beseeching God, who is three persons in one nature, that the grace obtained by our Lord Jesus Christ in the redemption may absolve us, that the love of the Father, who is now reconciled through his blood, may justify us; and lastly that by partaking of the communication of the Holy Ghost we may be sanctified.

Though the Apostle's Benediction is not literally copied from the Benediction ordained by God himself under the law: (Numb. vi. 23.) yet it virtually agrees with it. "On this wise shall ye bless the children of Israel, saying unto them,

" The Lord bless thee and keep thee:

The Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee:

* See the Rubric before the prayer for the King.

The Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.”

And this ancient form of benediction, in which the name of Jehovah is repeated three times, and in the Masoretic copies with a different accent each time, is, by the Jews themselves, supposed to contain a divine mystery *. The pious Christian will without hesitation, and with reverence, acknowledge that it contains a direct allusion to the persons of the ever-blessed Trinity, to the Father, that he may bless and keep us; to the Son, that he may make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious to us; and to the Holy Ghost, that he may lift up the light of his countenance upon us, and give us peace both now and evermore.

ON SINGING PSALMS.

Psalmody, as we have already observed, constituted a principal part of the public worship of the primitive Christians. It was likewise usual for the people, before the service began, and during any suspension that took place, to exercise

* For a more particular explication of this remarkable text, see Patrick's Comment. and Hermannus Witsius *Misc. Sacr. lib. ii. Dissert. ii. p. 518.*

themselves in Psalmody *. In our church it is customary to sing a few stanzas of one of the two authorised translations of the psalms, after the Morning Prayer and Litany are ended, and again, before the Sermon. In these instances, the introduction of psalmody is proper, and, to a certain degree, necessary. Without something of this kind, the transition from the Litany to the office of the Holy Communion; and from the Nicene Creed to the Sermon, might appear too sudden and abrupt. The intervention of a portion of a psalm will likewise relieve the attention, and remove the languor, that may occasionally arise from including in one service three entire offices †, which were originally distinct, and performed at different hours ‡.

The singing of psalms, in itself a pleasing and affecting part of divine worship, is, in some places, performed in so cold and phlegmatic a way, by the dull drone of the parish clerk, as to be rendered entirely useless: and in others, the boisterous and ostentatious clamour of what is called the band of singers may excite disgust, but cannot assist devotion. Though I am far from re-

* Quando non est tempus, cum in ecclesiâ fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cum legitur, aut communis oratio indicitur? Aug. Ep. 119.

† Morning Prayer, Litany, and Communion.

‡ The Morning Prayer was said at six, the Litany about nine, and the office of the Holy Communion at a considerable distance of time after the Litany.

garding the singing of psalms as one of the most essential or principal parts of our Sunday service, yet, as nothing which contributes to the decency of the public worship of God, or has a tendency to raise or keep up devout affections, can be considered as a matter of small importance, I shall here throw together a few hints on the subject of parochial psalmody *.

1. It might be proper for all the congregation to stand during the singing of the psalm. This practice, though enjoined by no rule, and probably contrary to the more ancient usage of the church of England †, violates no Rubric, and is consonant to the order of the other parts of the daily service. When the psalms are *read*, the congregation is directed to *stand*. Why should they *sit*, when the psalms are *sung*? Whether *Te Deum* is sung or said, the people are enjoined to

* Amplifications on most of these hints may be found in *Bishop Gibson's excellent Use of Psalmody*; *Mr. Warton's Essay on Psalmody*; and *Dr. Vincent's valuable Tract* on the same subject.

† “ It was not *then* (at the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth) the custom, nor has been since, for the people to stand up whilst the Psalms were singing in parish churches.” (See Bishop Fleetwood's Letter about *New Ceremonies*, p. 723, of his works.) The Bishop objects to the practice of standing principally on these two grounds: “ (1) it is an innovation, (2) intended merely to make a farther difference between those who were of different parties with respect to the king and state affairs.” But it has now no connection with politics, being intended for shewing more reverence, and exciting greater devotion: and, if it is an *innovation*, it is likewise a *reform*, and an *improvement*.

stand. Te Deum is one of the finest hymns, that was ever composed by man; but is not equal reverence, at least, due to the psalms?

The propriety of standing, during the singing of the psalms, was suggested in the beginning of the present century. But the proposition being made by *private men*, and *without authority*, the practice was rarely adopted. It has, however, of late been recommended by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*; and must, of course, be presumed to meet with the approbation of our ordinaries, for most of the Bishops are members of this Society.

2. The singing of psalms should not be confined to a select band, nor to a small part of the con-

* See a Paper, dispersed by the Society, "On the Reverence required in singing Psalms." In it, this sentence occurs: "One of the Fathers (St. Basil) describing the practice of the church in his time, says, *the people rising from prayer, stand up to sing psalms.*" I suspect the passage referred to is the following: 'Ο λαος—*ανασταντες των προσευχων, εις την ψαλμωδιαν καθιστανται*; and I think the argument totally irrelative. Basil had no conception of the modern distinction between *reading* and *singing psalms*. But the passage proves that the recitation of psalms followed the confession in the church of Neo-Cesarea in the time of Basil, as it does now in the daily service of the church of England. He says the people made a solemn penitential confession, [See his words quoted p. 24] and afterwards, rising up from prayer, proceeded to psalmody. They formed or arranged themselves, (*καθιστανται*) probably by dividing into two opposite choirs, (see p. 182) which alternately chaunted, or sung in recitative, short portions of the psalms, much in the same manner as the verses are now alternately read by the minister and people.

grega-

gregation ; but all that can sing, should join in the melody.

3. The psalms should be sung with modesty and humility : all vociferous roar and squall should be utterly banished.

4. Every attempt at intricacy of execution, all complex air, with whatever is difficult, or carries the appearance of art, should be discouraged. I mean more particularly where the people are not skilled in the science of music. Simple melodies are the most easily performed ; and to the subjects of sacred poetry simplicity is most suitable.—“ Religious harmony,” says Collier, “ should be moving, but noble, grave, solemn, and heroic ; fit for a martyr to play, and an angel to hear.” The plainer tunes ought therefore to be selected : such are the notes of the 100th psalm, of which Luther is said to have been the author ; and of the old 104th, composed by Handel.—Twelve or fifteen of the most approved and familiar melodies of this description might afford sufficient variety in ordinary country congregations.

5. The selection of proper portions of the psalms is, perhaps, not less necessary than the selection of proper music. The choice of these cannot with safety be committed to every parish clerk. On this subject, therefore, the minister might be consulted *.

6. The

* My practice has been to distribute among the occupiers of pews, and the poorer sort of people that frequent the church, “ Extracts

6. The organ, considered merely as an accompaniment to the voice, is a valuable acquisition. Whilst it regulates the singing, it encourages the modest and diffident to join in the psalmody. Where there is no organ, the want cannot be supplied by any other kind of instrumental music. Violins, bassoons, flutes, &c. ought to be entirely excluded.

from the new Version of the Psalms." The extracts are comprised in about 100 pages, and each page contains a portion sufficient to be sung at one time. They are sold by the *Rivingtons*, and are in the list of books printed for *the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*.

A

CRITICAL AND PRACTICAL

ELUCIDATION,

&c.

OF

THE ORDER FOR

EVENING PRAYER

DAILY THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

THE order for Evening Prayer, I hardly need observe, is nearly similar to that of the Morning*: I shall therefore confine my remarks to those parts in which it differs. Of these, the first of any importance are the

HYMNS AFTER THE LESSONS.

After the first Lesson at Evening Service, follow two Hymns, either of which the minister may use.

* The council of Laodicea, held soon after the middle of the fourth century, decrees, that the same prayers shall be read in the Morning that were read in the Evening. Can. 18.

The former is entitled *Magnificat*, and the latter *Cantate Domino*, in consequence of their beginning with these words in the Latin version.

MAGNIFICAT, OR THE SONG OF THE BLESSED
VIRGIN.

This pious and affecting hymn is recorded in the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke. It was spoken by the Virgin Mary on being addressed by her cousin Elizabeth, as the mother of our Saviour. Though the language of the hymn is highly figurative, yet the terms are so clear and intelligible as to require no particular explanation. It consists of a general thanksgiving, expressive of praise and gratitude to God, for his peculiar mercies vouchsafed to the Virgin, as the mother of our Lord: for all his goodness, and loving kindness, displayed in the acts of his providence; and more especially for the redemption of the world, promised to the patriarchs and now on the eve of being fulfilled, by the birth of the Messiah.

Between this Hymn of the Virgin, and the Song of Hannah, recorded in the first book of Samuel, there is a conformity of expression and sentiment, not less remarkable than the similarity of circumstances under which they were uttered. The chief difference seems to be, that Hannah's Song is conceived in a higher and more exalted strain, in terms corresponding with the sublime effusions of
the

the ancient prophets; while *Magnificat* more resembles the simple, but expressive, language of the evangelical writers. This consonance of character and circumstance in the two hymns, points out a relation between the persons of the child Samuel and the child Jesus; of whom it is testified by their respective historians, in a similar correspondence of language, that they “increased
“in wisdom and stature,” and “in favour both
“with God and man.” I Sam. ii. 26. Luke ii. 52.

In the person of Christ, the types and predictions of the law and the prophets were finally accomplished. The recitation therefore of this hymn, with propriety, succeeds the first Lesson, which is taken out of the books of the Old Testament, and generally contains some circumstance of history, or prophecy, that has a direct relation to the events of the Gospel. So early as the beginning of the sixth century, *Magnificat* was sung in the daily service of the western church *, and it is still retained in the evening offices of reformed churches upon the continent †, as well as in our own.

CANTATE DOMINO, OR THE NINETY-EIGHTH
PSALM.

This psalm, though probably composed in consequence of some victory obtained by David, is a

* Mabill. de Lit. Gall.

† Durell's View.

form of praise and thanksgiving perfectly suitable to a Christian assembly. Viewing it, as referring to the times of the Messiah, we behold the psalmist extolling the miraculous salvation which God has wrought for his church; and celebrating, in the most animated strains, the righteousness, mercy, and truth of our redeemer. He calls upon all the earth, and even the inanimate parts of the creation, to break forth into joy, and to sing praises to their creator. The subject of this general joy is the coming of our Saviour “to judge the world “with righteousness, and the people with equity.” Between *Cantate Domino* and *Magnificat*, there is a degree of resemblance not much inferior to that which we have already noticed, between *Magnificat* and the Song of Hannah. This resemblance, however, is confined to the first four verses of *Cantate*, which approach so near to the general turn of sentiment in *Magnificat*, as to induce a belief that the latter was borrowed from the introductory part of the former, the prediction of the psalmist being applied by the Virgin to its proper accomplishment in the Gospel dispensation. *Cantate Domino* is rarely used as a hymn after the first Lesson; and yet, where that treats of any extraordinary instance of divine protection and mercy, *Cantate* seems more proper than *Magnificat*. It is upon this ground, no doubt, that *Cantate* has been frequently enjoined to be used, instead of *Magnificat*, in our occasional forms

forms of thanksgiving. — *Cantate Domino* was added to the Liturgy in the second book of Edward.

HYMNS AFTER THE SECOND LESSON.

After the second evening lesson, we are likewise presented with two hymns, and allowed to use either. The former is entitled *Nunc dimittis*, and the latter *Deus misereatur*, from their Latin initials.

NUNC DIMITTIS, OR THE SONG OF SIMEON.

The author of this beautiful little hymn was the aged Simeon, a just and devout man, who waited for the consolation of Israel, and to whom, by the spirit of prophecy, it was revealed, that he should not see death before he had seen the Lord's anointed. Directed by the Spirit, Simeon came into the temple; and when the parents brought in the child Jesus to present him to the Lord, he took him up in his arms, and expressed his gratitude to God in the words of this hymn.

This hymn was early employed in private devotion, as a matter of consolation to Christians at the point of death *, and even by martyrs in

* In the life of Mary of Egypt, it is said, that a little before her death she received the sacrament, repeated the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and then sung, *nunc dimittis servam tuam in pace*. (Durant. de Rit. l. i. c. 16. N. 9. p. 59.)

their expiring agonies *. At what period it was introduced into the public service of the church has not been ascertained †; but we find it adopted by the Greek, Roman, and reformed churches ‡.

In our Liturgy it is judiciously placed after the second Lesson at Evening Prayer, which is always taken out of the writings of the apostles. In their epistles Christ is manifested to us likewise. We do not indeed, like Simeon, see him with our bodily eyes, but we behold him with the eye of faith, and therefore adopt the language of Simeon in our thanksgiving for the same salvation.

DEUS MISEREATUR, OR THE SIXTY-SEVENTH
PSALM.

Admitting this psalm to be prophetical of the Gospel dispensation, we shall discover a close affinity between it and the preceding hymn. The psalm prays for that “saving health,” which Simeon rejoiced to see; for the conversion of the Gentiles, and for evangelical blessings. It likewise foretells the joy and gladness that shall accompany the more general diffusion of the knowledge of the Gospel of Christ. These predictions are in part fulfilled; and the Christian church may with propriety continue the use of this psalm in the daily offices, till “the fulness of the Gentiles

* Wolf. Lect. Mem.

† Bingham. b. xiv. c. ii. sect. v.

‡ The Hymns of Mary, Zacharias, and Simeon, shall be sung.
(Synod of Dort. Can. 69.)

“ is come in, and the conversion of the Jews
“ completed, till the earth shall be full of the
“ knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the
“ sea, and till Christ shall appear the second
“ time, finally to accomplish our salvation.”—
This salvation is made known to us by the voices
of the apostles, which are heard in our churches
every day: and after we have learnt from the
Epistles, how “ the grace of God that bringeth
“ salvation, appeared unto all men,” and what it
requires of us to become objects of this grace, the
psalm *Deus misereatur* is a very seasonable form of
prayer and praise.

Deus misereatur, as well as *Cantate Domino*, was
added to the Evening Prayer in Edward's second
book.

OF THE COLLECTS.

The first collect at evening prayer is the same
with that of the morning, being invariably in
both the collect for the day. I proceed, there-
fore, to the

SECOND COLLECT FOR EVENING PRAYER.

This collect has the same title with the second
for morning prayer; “ A collect for peace.”—
And though the petitions of each vary more in
expression than in meaning, yet we may observe
this distinction: In the morning, we pray more
par-

particularly for external peace, for security against those troubles to which our intercourse with the world may expose us. Here, in the evening, we pray rather for internal peace, *that peace which the world cannot give*, to comfort and compose us, that we may spend our lives in all Godly quietness and tranquillity. Assured of the inseparable connection that exists between virtuous principles and genuine peace of mind, we address God as the author of *all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works*. This collect is translated, with little variation, from a prayer in the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great *, which, as I have already said, was compiled before the year 600.

THIRD COLLECT FOR EVENING PRAYER.

Though their titles are different, the third collects at Morning and Evening Prayer bear a considerable resemblance to each other: and both of them are peculiarly well adapted for the situations they respectively hold. That for the morning, appears to be more immediately directed against the dangers and temptations to which we may be exposed in the course of the day. In this

* There is a neatness and simplicity in the original, which every translator must find it difficult to preserve.—Deus, a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, & iusta sunt opera, da servis tuis illam, quam mundus dare non potest, pacem; ut, et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et, hostium sublatâ formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla, per dominum nostrum, &c.

for the evening, towards the approach of natural darkness, we beseech God to “enlighten the eyes” of our understandings, that we sleep not in our “sins unto death *;” and to defend us from all the dangers and perils that may ensue in the night. We commit ourselves to the protection of him, *who neither slumbers nor sleeps, and to whom darkness and light are both alike.*

With this Collect the Evening Prayer concluded till the last review.

PRAYERS AND THANKSGIVINGS

UPON SEVERAL OCCASIONS.

Till the last review of the Book of Common Prayer, the occasional Prayers and Thanksgivings formed a part of the Litany: and *the Letanie*, as the word is written in the former books, was the title at the head of the pages, in which these Prayers and Thanksgivings were placed. They are now appointed *to be used before the two final prayers, either of the Litany, or of the Morning and Evening service.*

* This is literally translated from a collect in the Greek euchology, from which ours seems to be partly taken. That proceeds, *dispel all darkness from our hearts, and vouchsafe to us the sun of righteousness, &c.*

OCCA-

OCCASIONAL PRAYERS.

It is the remark of a very able writer *, that
 “ the enumeration of human wants and sufferings
 “ in the Litany is nearly complete:” that “ a
 “ Christian petitioner can have few things to ask
 “ of God, or to deprecate, which he will not find
 “ there expressed, and for the most part with
 “ inimitable tenderness and simplicity.” With
 respect to general devotion, the remark is ex-
 tremely just: but still there are seasons, when either
 some calamity is so predominant, or some blessing
 so necessary, that it may become proper to depre-
 cate the one, or to supplicate the other with ex-
 traordinary importunity. In addition, therefore,
 to the more general supplications made in our
 Litany and Daily Prayer, we are supplied with
 special forms for the following occasions:

1. In time of drought, with a prayer for rain:
2. In time of excessive rain, with a prayer for
fair weather:
3. In time of dearth and famine, with two
prayers for cheapness and plenty, either of which
the minister may use at his discretion:
4. In time of war and tumults, with a prayer
for preservation and deliverance: And,
5. In time of any common plague or sickness,
with a prayer, beseeching God to withdraw his
visitation, and avert his judgments.

* Mr. Paley.

Drought,

Drought, deluge, or excessive rain, famine, rebellion, war, tumult, plague, and pestilence, are among the most dreadful visitations of the Almighty. These judgments He sometimes sends upon the earth, that the inhabitants of the world may learn righteousness. But so much have we of these realms been indebted to the mercy of his providence, that within the remembrance of more than the present generation, some of these forms have not been found necessary. The forms themselves, however, for the credit of the compilers of our Liturgy, are so plain and perspicuous, that no particular elucidation of them can be required. It may, therefore, be enough to observe, that similar prayers occur in ancient Liturgies, from which some of these appear to be chiefly taken: and that each is well suited to the emergency to which it is appropriated by our church.

In the occasional prayers already enumerated, we deprecate God's judgments, and supplicate his mercy. In those that follow, we are furnished with *intercessions* on three different occasions:

1. With two prayers for the clergy, one of which is to be said in the Ember weeks:
2. A prayer for the High Court of Parliament, to be read during their session: And,
3. A prayer for all sorts and conditions of men, to be used when the Litany is not said.

Between the first and second of these three, stands

stands the prayer beginning, "O God, whose
" nature and property is, ever to have mercy and
" forgive."

PRAYERS IN EMBER WEEKS.

Ember is a word of uncertain derivation.—Some suppose it signifies *ashes*, and some *abstinence*. Abstinence, or fasting, it is commonly known, was anciently accompanied with the act of sitting upon ashes, or of sprinkling ashes upon the head. In the western church, the Ember Weeks were stiled *jejunia quatuor temporum*, the fasts of the four seasons. This title, as well as the usage mentioned above, appears to favour the derivation already given. But others derive Ember from a Saxon word, signifying *course*, or *circumvolution*, for the Ember weeks return at fixed and certain periods, and are fasts *in course*.

The Ember days are the *Wednesday*, *Friday*, and *Saturday*, after the first Sunday in Lent, the feast of Pentecost, September 14, and December 13. The weeks in which these days fall, are called Ember weeks: and the Sundays immediately following are, according to ancient institution, appointed by the 31st canon of our church for the ordination of the clergy.

These two prayers, though the latter of them is found in the Scottish Liturgy, were added to our Book of Common Prayer only at the last review. The intention of the forms is sufficiently obvious:
and

and as the ordination of ministers is a subject of primary importance, it is to be regretted that one or other of the forms is not more generally read on the Wednesday and Friday in the Ember week, in such of our parish churches as have service on these days. Whether they were intended to be read every day in the Ember weeks, or only on every Ember day in the week, is a question that has not universally been answered in the same way. The words of the Rubric appear to countenance the former practice.

PRAYER THAT MAY BE SAID AFTER ANY OF
THE FORMER.

This prayer is not repeated so frequently as its excellence seems to require. It is drawn up in the metaphorical, but expressive, language of Scripture: has been long employed in the conclusion of Litanic, and other forms of prayer, by the churches of the west; and retains strong marks of primitive devotion *. This collect I have seen in some of Henry's primers; but it is in neither of Edward's books, having been restored to the Common Prayer only in the reign of Elizabeth. It has likewise for the last 130 years, had the ill fortune to be misplaced in most of the editions.

* In the old offices it is: Deus, cui proprium est misereri semper & parcere; suscipe deprecationem nostram: ut nos & omnes famulos tuos, quos delictorum catena constringit, miseratio tuæ pietatis clementer absolvat.

Dr. Nicholls, who wrote in the beginning of the present century, relates, that the printers, in 1662, placed it between the prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men," and "the general thanksgiving." He adds, that the commissioners made them strike it out, and print a new leaf, wherein it should stand right, that is, immediately before "the prayer for the high court of parliament."

This account is echoed by Mr. Wheatley and others: but, I own, I here suspect some mistake. In the copies of the Book, which, agreeably to a clause in the act of uniformity, were collated with the engrossed statute, the prayer in question, evidently through inadvertency, is printed in two different places, once before "the prayer for the parliament," and again before "the general thanksgiving."

The latter the commissioners have erased, by drawing with a pen, through the upper and lower parts of the printed text, two black lines *. The

* In the same manner they have expunged various other words and passages: and where it was necessary, they have corrected, in writing, typographical errors. I know not whether it is advisable to state, but as it is a fact, I shall state, that some copies of the sealed books have, in a few instances, been adulterated by a spurious pen. The writing of the secretary of the legitimate correctors is so far imitated, that, by this test alone, it is perhaps impossible to distinguish between the corrections, and the *corruptions*, that appear to have been soon after made by an *enemy*. The tares however may, in general, be easily known from the wheat.

prayer is, of course, left in its proper place *. Exclusively of the erasure, an inspection of the sealed books will, I apprehend, afford satisfactory proof that *a new leaf was NOT printed.*

PRAYER FOR THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT.

This animated and comprehensive prayer *for the high Court of Parliament*, that *for all sorts and conditions of men*, and *the general thanksgiving*, though they must be considered as modern compositions, are scarce inferior to any of whatever antiquity. In this for the parliament, we pray for the whole kingdom, but more especially for the *legislature*: that their counsels may be directed to promote the glory of God, the good of his church, and the welfare of the community.--- Towards the close, enlarging our petitions, we request these and *all other* necessaries for them, for ourselves, and the *whole catholic church*, in the

* From its first introduction, in the time of Elizabeth, till the restoration of Charles II. it stood without any *title*, or *head*, immediately after the *prayer in time of any common plague, or sickness*; and was then the last prayer in the Litany. In 1661, the two prayers, of which one is to be used in *Ember Weeks*, the prayer for the *parliament*, and that for *all sorts and conditions of men*, were composed: and the title now prefixed to the prayer in question, was then given. The printers of the book in 1662, observing perhaps that in the first copy, this prayer appeared once before the prayer for parliament, and again after that for “all sorts and conditions, &c.” would, from the title, naturally be induced to place it after these prayers.

name and by the mediation of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

PRAYER FOR ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF
MEN.

We have before had occasion to observe, that St. Paul exhorts us to make prayers and supplications for all men; and that the duty enjoined by the apostle, was practised by the ancient Christians in their daily devotions. In our church, however, till the last review of the Book of Common Prayer, we had no particular form of *general intercession*, excepting when the *Litany*, or the *prayer for the church militant*, was said. The want of such a form being thought a defect, the prayer before us was composed, and appointed to be used whenever the Litany was not.

It has likewise been noticed, that such titles and attributes of the Deity generally introduce each of our prayers, as are most appropriate to the purport of the prayer itself*. In the *prayer for all sorts and conditions of men*, we address God as the common *creator and preserver of all mankind*: and beseech him that the general dispensations of his providence, and particularly the Gospel, in Scripture emphatically styled, *his saving health, may be known unto all nations*. In other words, we here pray for the conversion of Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics, that all ignorance, hardness

* Page 27.

of heart, and contempt of God's word, being taken away, they may be saved among the remnant of the true Israelites.

In ancient Liturgies, the church prayed not only for the illumination of those that sat in darkness, for the instruction of the ignorant, and the conversion of the wicked, but likewise for the improvement of the good. And we here pray *more especially for the good estate of the catholic church*: not so much for the external prosperity and grandeur of any particular establishment, but that the whole, the Oriental, the Greek, the Latin, the Reformed, the British, and the American churches, with every other denomination of Christians, *may be led into the way of truth*; neither introducing modern fanciful innovations, nor reviving ancient heretical opinions: but that they *may hold the faith, "once delivered to the saints," in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life.*

We farther intercede for all that are afflicted, whether by sorrow, sickness, or penury: and more especially for those that particularly desire our public intercession at the throne of grace. All these we commend to the fatherly goodness of God, beseeching him *to comfort and relieve them according to their several necessities*: that is, to mitigate their sorrow of mind, to assuage their bodily pain, and to relieve their distressed estate, as may be most expedient for them. In particular we pray that, during their sufferings, He will

enable them to bear his visitation patiently : trusting that if they are restored to health and prosperity, they will lead the rest of their lives to his glory ; and assured, that if their sufferings terminate in death, to which, as to the only complete deliverance from the pressure of human woe, the good man must, in the gloom of adversity, look forward with secret delight ; the issue will, to him at least, be equally fortunate and happy.

Both here, and in the general thanksgiving, the Rubric appears to be somewhat defective. It is not expressly stated whether the names of those who *desire the prayers of the congregation*, and of those who *desire to return praise*, should be publicly announced by the minister. Both the reason of the thing, and the mode of expression adopted in the clauses inserted between brackets, seem to require that the minister should notify to the congregation the names of those, on whose account the additions are made. I am aware of the objection to this practice that may be drawn from the words of another Rubric, prohibiting all publications *in the time of divine service, except those that are prescribed by the rules of the book, or enjoined by the ordinary of the place*. But in these two instances, the intention of the church appears so evident, that by complying with it, we can scarce be said to transgress any rule. And is not the general acquiescence of our ordinaries nearly equivalent to an injunction? --- Again, the practice of
calling

calling vestries, of publishing parochial assessments, &c. in the time of divine service, seems defensible only on the principle, on which we maintain the propriety of the minister's notifying the names of those, who desire either *the prayers of the congregation, or to return praise.*

THANKSGIVINGS.

In the exhortation at the opening of the service, we are admonished that one principal end of our assembling in the house of God, is, *to render thanks for the great benefits that we have received at his hands.* This has been done more generally in the Alleluiah, doxology, psalms, and hymns. Besides these, at the last review of the Liturgy, it was thought expedient to compose, and add

A GENERAL THANKSGIVING,

which is appointed to be used in the Morning and Evening Service of every day immediately before the two concluding prayers.

In this admirable composition, attributed to Bishop Sanderson, we address God, as *the father of all mercies, and give him thanks for his goodness to us, and to all men.* When any desire to return praise for especial mercies, there is a clause for the purpose, and the nature of the blessing is commonly specified by the minister before he begins

the Thanksgiving. We proceed to enumerate more particularly the blessings for which we return our humble and hearty thanks—These are (1) all the temporal benefits we enjoy, of which, *creation* and *preservation* are the only two distinctly mentioned: (2) we more especially praise God for spiritual blessings, among which we particularize *redemption*, *sanctification* and *salvation*; the two last of which are expressed by the *means of grace*, and the *hope of glory*. From Eucharistic, the form becomes petitionary. We beseech God to make us truly sensible of his mercies, and really thankful for them; that we may shew our gratitude, and promote his glory, not only by celebrating his praises day by day in the public assembly of the church, but by walking in the paths of holiness and righteousness all our lives. These petitions we enforce through the merits of Jesus Christ; and we conclude the whole with a doxology, in which we ascribe to the Son, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

THANKSGIVINGS UPON VARIOUS OCCASIONS.

More particular Thanksgiving being sometimes proper, we are supplied with forms on the six following occasions (1) for rain: (2) for fair weather: (3) for plenty: (4) for peace, and deliverance from our enemies: (5) for restoring public peace at home;

home; and (6) with two Thanksgivings, either of which may be used, for deliverance from the plague, or other common sickness.

When the petitions, which we may have offered up in any of the preceding occasional prayers, have been granted, and our desires fulfilled; when either a calamity has been removed, or a blessing vouchsafed, it is evidently the intention of the church, that praise should be given to God, in the words of the appropriate thanksgiving here prescribed: That is, in all cases where the ordinary form is not superseded by one that is special, and enjoined by authority. These occasional Thanksgivings we may pass over, after making one or two general observations. Some of them are partly taken from ancient offices*, and the whole are judiciously composed; being not only well adapted to the occasions for which they are appointed, but, like the preceding prayers, with which they correspond, as plain and perspicuous, as they are rational and devout. The occasional thanksgivings were composed in the reign of James, and annexed to the Litany: In 1662, they were detached from it, and printed as they now appear, after having been sanctioned by a convocation, and authorised by the act of uniformity.

End of the Morning and Evening Prayer.

* Yet a selection of forms so complete is not to be met with in any Greek or Latin Liturgy.

OF ABSOLUTION IN GENERAL.

In these latter ages, the doctrine of Absolution has become a subject of controversy, upon which many theological writers have exercised their learning and ingenuity.—Without stating in detail the disputes that have existed between Christians of different denominations, and which have oftentimes terminated in contrary extremes, I propose to give a concise review of Absolution, as it was taught and practised in the early ages of Christianity. I mean more particularly to enquire, by whom, in the primitive church, Absolution is said to be granted, and to examine the various modes in which it was usually administered. In the prosecution of this enquiry we may probably perceive, that the doctrine of the church of England respecting Absolution, is the doctrine that was held by the best and wisest among the Fathers: and we shall occasionally have reason to observe the harmony, that in this instance, as well as in others, exists between our offices, and “the
“ most ancient Liturgies, which have been used in
“ the church in the primitive and purest times.”

BY WHOM ABSOLUTION IS GRANTED.

The ancient teachers of Christianity, whether priests or prelates, arrogated to themselves, in
the

the dispensation of Absolution, no power, which was not purely *ministerial* *. Agreeably to the doctrine of Holy Scripture, the Fathers unanimously maintain, that “ God alone can forgive “ sins.” In their elaborate defences of the Christian faith, and their refutations of the erroneous opinions of those who have been stigmatised as *beterodox* and *heretical*; we find them frequently pressing this argument, in proof of the divinity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that *they*, (viz. *the Son and the Holy Ghost*,) *have the power of forgiving sins.*

Now if either these venerable apologists for Christianity, or their opponents, had thought, that the apostles † and their successors might in any degree participate with God in this power, both parties must have seen, that such arguments were inconclusive and absurd.

* We must except all the cases, and they are extremely numerous, where the word *Absolution*, or a term equivalent, is applied to denote *the relaxation of ecclesiastical censures*.—These were mere human ordinances, the municipal laws of the respective churches; and the persons appointed to execute them, necessarily had a *judicial* power. See the head, *Absolution of reconciliation to the church, or re-admission to its communion.*

† Our Saviour after breathing upon the apostles said, “ Whosoever’s sins ye shall forgive,” &c. Upon these passages Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Austin, and others observe that the forgiving of sins is not properly the work of the Apostles, but the work of the Holy Ghost, who remitted sins by them, and thus performed the work of the true God. Peter said to Ananias, why hath Satan filled thy heart to lie to the *Holy Ghost*? Thou hast not lied unto *men*, but unto *God*. Acts v. 3, 4.

As

As it may answer the double purpose of ascertaining the opinions of the early Christians on one of the fundamental, and most important articles of religion, viz. the *Divinity* of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, as well as of shewing by whom, according to their ideas, Absolution, or Remission of Sins, is granted, I shall produce from their writings, a few of the passages, which at once illustrate both these heads.

IRENÆUS, in his fifth Book against heresies says,
 “ By remitting his sins our Saviour indeed healed
 “ the man: but at the same time he manifested
 “ himself, and shewed who he was. For if, no
 “ one can remit sins, but God alone, and our
 “ Lord did remit them, then it is plain he did it,
 “ because he was the word of God, made the Son
 “ of man. As man, he suffered for us; as God,
 “ he shews us mercy and forgives us our tref-
 “ passes *.”

TERTULLIAN, in his fourth Book against *Marcion*, argues thus, “ The Jews beholding only our
 “ Lord’s humanity, and being not yet acquainted
 “ with his divinity, with good reason maintained
 “ that man could not forgive sins, but God only.
 “ Our Lord, by answering that the Son of man
 “ had power to forgive sins, directs their attention
 “ to that only Son of man, of whom Daniel pro-
 “ phesied: and, by his remitting of sins, would
 “ have them understand, that in his person, the

* Cap. xvii. Sect. 3. p. 314. Ed. Benedict.

“ divine

“ divine and human natures were united ; that he
 “ was that son of man, to whom was committed
 “ the power of judging, and consequently the
 “ power of forgiving sins *.” (Dan. vii. 13, 14.)

BASIL †, in his fifth Book against Eunomius, says, “ it is the property of God alone to forgive
 “ sins. He himself declares, I, even I am he
 “ that blotteth out thy transgressions, (Isa. xliii.
 “ 25) and again, though thy sins be as scarlet,
 “ they shall be as white as snow ; though they be
 “ red like crimson, they shall be as wool (Is. i.
 “ 18.) Now, when Jesus, the Son of God, God
 “ of God, forgave the sins of the sick of the
 “ palsy, saying, *Son, thy sins be forgiven thee* ; on
 “ account of these words, the Jews, who knew
 “ not that he was God, thought him a blas-
 “ phemer, and said this man blasphemeth, none
 “ can forgive sins, but God alone. The Lord,”
 continues Basil, “ breathing upon the holy apos-
 “ tles, says, receive ye the Holy Ghost : whoso-
 “ ever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them.
 “ Now if none can remit sins but God alone,
 “ (and it is certain none can,) and if the Holy
 “ Ghost by the apostles remits sins, then the
 “ Holy Ghost is God.” He proceeds to shew,
 that “ in baptism, the Son, together with the
 “ Father and the Holy Ghost ; and the Holy
 “ Ghost, with the Father and the Son, forgive
 “ sins.” The conclusion he draws from this ar-

* Cap. x. p. 421. Ed. Rigalt. Lit. D.

† Cap. iii. *On Remission of Sins.*

gument, which he employs on various occasions, and urges here at considerable length, and with great force, is, that “ the Son is God, and that “ the Holy Ghost is God ; that the Holy Ghost is “ of the same substance, as well as the same “ power and authority with the Father and the “ Son.”

ATHANASIUS, in his third Oration against the Arians *, asks, “ how could the word, supposing “ that he had been a creature, have been able to “ abrogate the denunciation of God, and remit “ sins, seeing it is written by the prophets, that “ this is the prerogative of God alone ? How could “ man by created beings be absolved from sin ? “ But our Lord absolved them, as he himself “ says if the Son hath made you free, then shall “ you be free indeed. By having made you free, “ the Son has manifested that he is not a creature, “ nor a created being, but the true word, and the “ image of the substance of the Father ; even of “ him who from the beginning made the denun- “ ciation, and who alone remits sins.”

AMBROSE, towards the conclusion of his third Book † *on the Holy Ghost*, recapitulates some arguments, which are more amply discussed in the preceding parts of the treatise, and introduces four distinct proofs of the divinity of the Holy Ghost. In that which is more immediately to our

* Page 239 of the Commel. Ed.

† In the former part of c. xix.

purpose, he proceeds upon nearly the same ground, which we have seen Irenæus, Tertullian, Basil, and Athanasius, treading before. “None,” he observes, “can forgive sins but God alone. Let us see whether the Holy Ghost forgives sins. Of this no one can doubt, since the Lord himself said, receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted. This then is a proof that he is God, for he remits sins.—The remission of sins in baptism is the operation of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

In the same manner argue HILARY †, CYRIL of Alexandria †, CHRYSOSTOM ‡, JEROM §, and many others of the fathers, all alike inferring the Divi-

* Hil. in Mat. 9.

† De Recta Fide.

‡ In Matt. 9. Hom. 29.—Yet Chrysostom on some occasions most hyperbolically magnifies the power of the priest, as the following specimen of Oriental eloquence will prove. “The throne of the priest is placed in heaven, and to him is committed the administration of heavenly things. Who says this? The king of heaven himself. He says, *whatsoever ye shall bind, &c.* Can any honour equal this honour? Heaven receives from earth the power of judging. The Lord follows the servant, and whatever he judges here below, the Lord ratifies above.” (Hom. in Isa.)—But that he may not, however, by any rhetorical flight, mislead his hearers, he frequently interposes such sentences as these, “to forgive sins is possible to God only; it is the property of no other; God alone does this.” And he often affirms, that “that it is not necessary to confess to men, but that it is sufficient to confess to God.”

§ Comment. in Matt. 9.

nity of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, from their power to forgive sins : a prerogative, which they uniformly maintain, belongs only to God.

OF THE FORMS IN WHICH ABSOLUTION WAS DISPENSED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

The dispensation of Absolution, as practised in the ancient church, is reducible to these four heads :

1. *The Absolution of Baptism, and of the supper of the Lord, or sacramental Absolution.*
2. *The Absolution of reconciliation to the church, and re-admission into its communion.*
3. *The Absolution of word and doctrine, or declaratory Absolution.*
4. *The Absolution of prayer, or precatory Absolution.*

I. SACRAMENTAL ABSOLUTION.

The sacrament of baptism was esteemed by the Fathers the most universal Absolution. To adopt the words of antiquity, it was the *grand*, the *divine indulgence* in the Christian church *. It was the Absolution, or remission of all those sins, which the party baptized committed before his entry into

* Vossius de Baptismo.

the mystical body of Christ*. Yet in the sacrament of baptism, the ministry only, is to be accounted human; the power and efficacy are of God. *St. John the Baptist* makes this very distinction. “ I baptize with water: He baptizeth with the Holy Ghost” (John i. 26, 33.) *Austin* has observed, “ that to baptize by way of ministry, is one thing, to baptize by way of power is another †. “ The power of baptizing, the Lord has retained “ to himself, but he has given the ministry “ to his servants. The power of baptism “ was to pass from the Lord to none, but the “ ministry evidently was: the power was not to “ be transferred from the Lord to any of his ministers, but the ministry was, both to the good “ and bad ‡.” *Alexander of Hales*, says, “ it is “ a matter of equal power to baptize inwardly, “ and to absolve from mortal sin. It was not “ proper for God to commit to man the power of

* That is, provided it were duly administered, and properly received. Hence it was sometimes called *the Sacrament of Absolution*, and *of grace*, in contradistinction to *grace* and *absolution*: for impenitent persons may receive the *outward form* of the sacrament of Baptism, and of the Eucharist, but not *the spiritual grace*. Baptismum, quod est Sacramentum Remissionis peccatorum, habere etiam homicidas posse, &c. Aug. de Bapt. l. v. c. 21.

† Aliud enim est baptizare per ministerium, aliud baptizare per potestatem, &c. August. in Joan. Tract. 5.

‡ Sacramentum gratiæ dat Deus etiam per malos: ipsam vero gratiam non nisi per seipsum.—Id. ibid. Id. de bapt.—This is consonant to our article “ the unworthiness of ministers, hinders not the effect of the Sacraments.”

“ baptizing inwardly, lest our hope should be
 “ placed in man. By parity of reason, it was
 “ not proper that he should communicate to man
 “ the power of absolving from actual sin *.”

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper was likewise an absolution, and was called *το τελειον*, the perfection of a Christian. To all who had never fallen into the greater sins, which required public penance, it was a general absolution. It was likewise an absolution from the penalties of excommunication. To penitents at the point of death, it was what the Latin fathers call *viaticum*, or provision for the passage from this life to the future. In case the sick penitent recovered, he was obliged to perform the rest of the prescribed penance: at least he was to receive the imposition of hands at the altar, which was accompanied with prayers for his absolution. But if he died, the Eucharist was deemed sufficient. In a time of persecution, an aged man of blameless manners, whose name was *Serapion*, had been prevailed upon to sacrifice to an idol. He often sued for pardon. At length, falling sick in the night, he sent for a priest to absolve him. The priest was likewise sick, and could not go; but sent by the messenger a portion of the Eucharist. It was put into the mouth of *Serapion*, who immediately expired.

* Sum. univers. Theol. Part. 4. ap. Morin.

This story is recorded by Eusebius,* from Dyonysius of Alexandria, whose observation upon it is, that God evidently preserved *Serapion* alive, till he might be reconciled to Christ, and acknowledged by him for the many good works which he had done.—In the absolution of baptism, and of the Eucharist, the office of the priest is to administer *the outward and visible form*.—But as our church does not call the two sacraments, indulgencies, or absolutions, and as some notice will be taken hereafter of our mode of administering them, I shall not at present enter more particularly into the subject.

II. ABSOLUTION OF RECONCILIATION TO THE CHURCH, AND RE-ADMISSION TO ITS COMMUNION.

The second kind of absolution which we mentioned, is, that *of reconciliation to the church, and re-admission to its communion*. It expresses the solemn manner of absolving public penitents, who in consequence of having transgressed either the laws of the Gospel, or the regulations of the church, had been excluded from the benefit of public communion; and of re-admitting them to this privilege, upon the due performance of the canonical penance.

With absolution, in this sense of the term, the Church of England has, unfortunately perhaps,

* Ecc. Hist. L. vi. c. 44.

little concern *. This head therefore, though volumes of instruction as well as codes of casuistry have been written upon it, I shall dismiss with a few cursory observations.

This power of absolution, which must be considered as merely a matter of external ecclesiastical discipline, and consequent reconciliation to the church, we find both from passages of St. Paul's epistles, and from other genuine records, was originally exercised by the assembly of the faithful, by the collective body of Christians. In process of time, officers and governors were appointed, and invested with absolute judicial authority. They were constituted the legal judges of the qualifications of the parties ejected from the bosom of the church, and suing for re-admission, which was then commonly styled absolution or indulgence. They re-admitted to communion, those, who in consequence of repentance and reformation, were pronounced to be entitled to this *indulgence*: and this *absolution* was refused to such as were deemed unworthy of it. Though it cannot be denied that gross abuses sprang out of this discipline, yet the original institution was salutary and wise.

The ministers of this discipline, then, had full

* Peter Martyr, at the requisition of Cranmer, was engaged in drawing up a system of penitential discipline. And we still continue to express an annual wish that some part of the ancient discipline may be restored. But, such has long been the spirit of the times, that our rulers have not yet thought it expedient to go farther.

powers to absolve *judicially*, and might pronounce the relaxation, or removal of church censures, *indicatively* or *declaratively*. But the complete and final reconciliation was, in common, solemnly performed at the altar, and the words of absolution on these occasions always ran in a supplicatory or precatory form.—These rulers must be considered as acting in two capacities, very distinct from each other, a circumstance, which has not always been sufficiently attended to. Being chosen from the body of the clergy, they were at the same time, *judges* and *ministers*. As judges, they might shorten or prolong the time of penance; but when they had once *judicially* pronounced absolution to a penitent, they were, with respect to him, reduced to their *ministerial* capacity, and became *intercessors* with God to have mercy upon him, to forgive and deliver him from all his sins*.

III. DECLARATORY ABSOLUTION.

Declaratory Absolution, which has likewise been called the Absolution of Word and Doctrine, appears to be that which constitutes the most material part of the ministry of reconciliation, committed by Christ to his ambassadors on earth. (2 Cor. v. 18, 19.)

* In the days of *Cyprian*, and those of *Alcuinus*, two periods remote from each other, this absolution was, in the absence of the *priest*, granted by a *Deacon*. *Morin*.

The exercise of this Absolution consists in publishing the terms and conditions, on which remission of sins, reconciliation to God, and everlasting salvation, are promised in the Gospel. Of these terms and conditions the ministers of Christ are authorised, and enjoined, to make public and general declaration. The apostles were commanded to “go into all the world and to preach the Gospel to every creature.” And every priest of the church of England has solemnly engaged, “out of the Holy Scriptures to instruct the people committed to his charge in all things necessary to their salvation *.” In particular, he is bound to declare, from the word of truth, the terms on which God is graciously pleased to admit men to his favour, and what are the conditions, without the performance of which, they shall be excluded from it.---The terms, on which God, under the covenant of grace, remits, or retains sins, are unalterably fixed, and they are expressly declared in the Gospel. The terms are these: God pardons and absolves all true penitents, and sincere believers; and will give everlasting life to all his faithful and obedient servants. But the impenitent shall perish †. The unbelieving shall die in his sins ‡. Indignation and wrath shall be the portion of the disobedient §.—Whenever the minister of the Gospel, either in the public or private discharge of his office, fully and

* Office of Ordination.

† Luke xiii. 3.

‡ John viii. 24.

§ Rom. xi. 8.

faithfully represents these truths to the people, he does, in other words, declare and pronounce to them whose sins are remitted, and whose sins are retained by God.

The duty of the minister of Christ Jesus consists principally in instruction and exhortation. The one convinces the understanding, the other engages the affections. And when instructions, united with exhortations, produce in the hearts of men, “repentance, whereby they forsake sin;” and faith, whereby they steadfastly believe the “promises” of God made in the Gospel, the priest may, in the scriptural sense of the words, be said to loose the people from their sins. For in Scripture the sinner is represented as holden with the cords of his sins *. “These cords, and “chains,” says Jerom, “the messengers of Christ “can loose, according to the commission given “them by their master, who said to them, whatsoever ye loose on earth shall be loosed in Heaven. Now the messengers of Christ loose men “from the chains of their sins, by the word of “God, by testimonies drawn from the Scriptures, “and by exhortation to the practice of Christian “graces and virtues †.”

Nearly in the same manner Ambrose says, “to-

* Prov. v. 22.

† Funibus peccatorum suorum unusquisque constringitur: quos funes & vincula solvere possunt & Apostoli.—Solvunt eos Sermone Dei & testimoniis scripturarum, & Exhortatione virtutum. Hieron. in Isa. xiv. 17.

“wards obtaining remission of sins, men (that is,
 “the priests,) make use of their ministry, but
 “they exercise no privilege of authority *.” He
 elsewhere observes, “sins are remitted by the
 “word of God, of which the levite or priest is
 “the interpreter, and a kind of executor. They
 “are remitted through the office and the sacred
 “ministry of the priest †.—He is therefore the
 “minister of remission ‡.”

The ministers of the Gospel may, in a lax and popular sense of the words, be said to be instrumental in reconciling men to God, and accessory to their obtaining remission of sins, for to them
 “the ministry of remission is committed,” and
 “the word of reconciliation given §.” As the Jewish teachers “by taking away the key of
 “knowledge did shut up the Kingdom of Heaven
 “against men ||,” so “every scribe instructed
 “unto the Kingdom of Heaven, by opening to his
 “hearers the door of faith” unlocks that kingdom¶. He is the instrument employed by God
 “to open men’s eyes, and to turn them from
 “darkness to light, and from the power of Satan

* Nullum jus potestatis exercent.

† Remittuntur peccata per Dei verbum, cujus Levites interpres, & quidem executor est. Remittuntur etiam per officium Sacerdotis, sacrumque ministerium. (Amb. de Cain. & Abel. Lib. ii. c. 4.)

‡ Levites igitur Minister Remissionis est (Id. ibid.)

§ 2 Cor. vi 18, 19.

|| Luke xi. 52, & Mat. xxiii. 13.

¶ Matt. xiii. 52. Acts xiv. 27.

“unto

“ unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of
“ sins *.”

The absolution of word and doctrine, that is, the act of preaching the Gospel, and properly applying Holy Scripture, may in a popular, but not in the strict sense of the terms, be likewise styled operative and efficacious. It may be said to be operative, so far as God employs it as the means of conferring his spirit upon men †, and of working faith and repentance, by which remission of sins is obtained. Thus John, “ preaching
“ the baptism of repentance for the remission of
“ sins ‡, and teaching the people that they should
“ believe in him, which should come after him,
“ that is on Christ Jesus §,” is said “ to turn
“ many of the children of Israel to the Lord their
“ God ||.” He did this by “ giving knowledge of
“ salvation unto the people of the Lord, for the
“ remission of their sins ¶.” John had not properly any power to turn men’s hearts. He, like the priests of the Gospel, was entrusted with the ministry of the word of the grace of God, which is able to convert men, and to build them up, and to give them inheritance among the sanctified **. Thus whoever by the application of this word converts a sinner, is said to save a soul from death ††. The conversion of a sinner, and the saving of a

* Acts xxvi. 18. † Acts x. 44. Gal. iii. 2. ‡ Mark i. 4.

§ Acts xix. 4. || Luke i. 17. ¶ Luke i. 77.

** Acts xx. 32. †† Jam. v. 20.

soul from death, is a prerogative peculiar to God. Yet the ministers may be said to effect this, and to reconcile men to God, when they perform the ministry of reconciliation, as they are said “to save their hearers,” when they successfully “preach the Gospel, by which they are saved*.” Thus the word is said to be “their word” which “is in truth the word of God †.” Where the preaching of the Gospel proves “the power of God unto salvation,” the weakness of the ministry must be ascribed to men, “the excellency of the power is of God ‡.” “So then, neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase §.” The giving of the increase, says Austin ||, exceeds both the meanness of man, and the sublimity of Angels: it belongs only to the Trinity ¶.

But, in strict propriety of speech, this absolution of the priest is simply declaratory of what God does for the sinner upon his repentance. And whenever this declaration is made according to the terms of the Gospel, it necessarily presupposes that God has already pardoned those whom

* 1 Tim. iv. 16. 1. Cor. xv. i. 2.

† John xvii. 20. 1 Thes. ii. 13.

‡ Rom. i. 16. 2 Cor. iv. 7.

§ 1 Cor. iii. 7.

|| Excedit hoc humanam humilitatem—pertinet ad Agricolam, Trinitatem.

¶ Usher's answer to a jesuit's challenge.

the priest pronounces to be absolved. St. *Jerom*, who is followed by *the Master of the sentences* *, has observed, that “ in remitting and retaining sins, “ the priests under the Gospel dispensation have “ the same right and office, which, under the law “ of Moses, the levitical priests had in healing “ lepers †.” The reasoning of *Jerom*, and of *Peter Lombard*, is adopted by the authors of the Homily upon repentance. “ Do not they, (the “ advocates for auricular confession) see, that the “ leper was cleansed from his leprosy before he “ was by Christ sent unto the priest to shew himself unto him? By the same reason, we must “ be cleansed from our spiritual leprosy, I mean, “ our sins must be forgiven us, *before* that we “ come to auricular confession. What need we “ then to tell forth our sins into the ear of the “ priest, sith (seeing) that they be already taken “ away?” We may farther ask, what need have they of absolution, in the Romish sense of the

* *Peter Lombard* (or the *Lombardian*) is commonly so called from his writing the *four Books of Sentences*. This work, which was a complete body of divinity for the age, and was then more generally studied than even the holy Scriptures, is principally a collection of passages from the Fathers, whose difference of opinion the *Master* endeavours to reconcile. He was Professor of Theology in the University of Paris, and afterwards Bishop of the diocese. He died in 1164. In illustration of *the Sentences*, subsequent doctors wrote voluminous commentaries.

† Pet. Lomb. L. 14. Sent. Dist. 14. ap. Morin.

term,

term, from the hands of man, who are already absolved by God?

“ Therefore,” continues the Homily, “ holy
 “ Ambrose, in his second sermon upon the 118th
 “ (according to our division the 119th) psalm,
 “ doth say full well, go shew thyself unto the
 “ priest. Who is the true priest, but he which
 “ is priest for ever after the Order of Melchise-
 “ dech? Both the priesthood and the law being
 “ changed, we ought to acknowledge none other
 “ priest for deliverance from our sins, but our
 “ Saviour Jesus Christ, who being sovereign
 “ bishop, doth with the sacrifice of his body and
 “ blood, offered once for ever upon the altar of
 “ the cross, most effectually cleanse the spiritual
 “ leprosy, and wash away the sins of all those
 “ that, with true confession of the same, do flee
 “ unto him.”

That the power of the priest to remit or retain sins, is merely declaratory, and in no degree judicial*, was the doctrine of the ancient church. Till within these few centuries it was likewise the

* Even *Scotus* says, to judge whose sins shall be forgiven belongs to God, and he can as soon confer upon another his *Divinity*, as this power of *judging*. 41. Sent. Dist. 19. No. 4, 5. *John Duns*, surnamed *Scotus*, a native of Northumberland, and fellow of Merton College, Oxford, flourished A. D. 1300, about which time he removed to Paris. He was styled the *subtle Doctor*, and maintained opinions contrary to those of *Bonaventure* and *Thomas Aquin*.—Hence the origin of the names *Thomists* and *Scotists*.

doctrine of the church of Rome *; and that it was the common doctrine of the more early Protestant Divines, appears from their respective writings. That it is the avowed doctrine of the church of England, the daily form of absolution proves, which expressly says, “ Almighty God, “ the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, pardoneth “ and absolveth all them that truly repent, and “ unfeignedly believe his Holy Gospel.” Do these words leave us at liberty to suppose, that they whom God pardons and absolves, need any other pardon and absolution; or that human power can retain those sins which He remits?

The office which, by the appointment of God, the priest is to perform, is purely ministerial, and our church thus describes it: “ He hath given “ power and commandment to his ministers to “ declare and pronounce to his people, being “ penitent, the Absolution and Remission of their “ sins.” Now, no declaration can make a thing to be what it was not before. The declaration pre-supposes the thing to be what it is declared to be. What the ministers have power and commandment to declare and pronounce, must be actually done, before they can declare and pronounce it done: that is, God has already par-

* This is proved by USHER; but, as he remarks, the *old Doctors* must now yield to the *new Fathers of Trent*. In this instance, the non-conformists sub-romanised, and even in our church they may have disciples.

doned those whom his ministers are authorised to pronounce absolved.

The priests have the same powers in *binding*, that they have in *loosing*. They are appointed to denounce, but not to inflict punishment. In their mouths the words of the Lord are put *. Like the prophet, they “cast the people out of God’s fight, such as are for death to death †,” not that they are *avengers*, for this is a title which God challenges to himself, “vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord;” but because they are appointed to be “prophets unto the nations ‡,” and to speak the words which God has commanded.

IV. PRECATORY ABSOLUTION.

The fourth and only ancient form of absolution that remains to be considered is, the Absolution of Prayer, or precatory Absolution. This, in general, constituted a part of the other Absolutions. Both in the administration of baptism, and at the celebration of the Eucharist, as well as in the solemn reconciliation of returning penitents, prayers and intercessions for pardon of sins always accompanied these sacred rites, and implied that the Absolution was not the act of the

* Jer. i. 9.

† Jer. xv. 1, 2.

‡ Jer. v. 7.

priest,

priest, but of God. In the writings of the Fathers and the decrees of councils, to the efficacy of the prayers and intercessions of the priest, is the remission of sin often ascribed.

TERTULLIAN, before he adopted the anti-christian notions of the *Montanists* *, represents “Christ
“ as joining his intercession with the tears of the
“ church, and thus obtaining pardon for the
“ penitent †.”

“The priests,” says CHRYSOSTOM ‡, “absolve
“ not only by doctrine and admonition, but also
“ by the assistance of their prayers.” And, in the judgment of AUSTIN §, prayer is one especial mean, whereby the commission given to the priests is exercised in the remission of sins. He exhorts offenders to shew their repentance publicly to the church, “that the church may pray for them ||,” and that they may obtain the benefit of absolution.

When a woman of quality applied to BASIL for

* Whether *Tertullian* was afterward deluded by the enthusiastic notions of this sect, or whether his own rigid principles, and strenuous opposition to the abuses of indulgence and Absolution, which, even in his days, appear to have gained a considerable footing in the church, altered his former opinion, are points on which the learned have not fully delivered their sentiments, or, at least, have not unanimously decided.

† *Æque, illi cum super te lachrymas agunt, Christus patitur.—Christus patrem deprecatur. Facile impetratur semper, quod filius postulat. Tert. de pœnit. c. 10.*

‡ De Sacerdot.

§ De baptismo cont. Donatist.

|| Ut oret pro vobis ecclesia.

absolu-

absolution, he said "Hast thou heard that God
 "only can forgive sins?" "I have, father,"
 she replied, "and I therefore beseech thee to
 "make intercession for me to our merciful
 "God*."

"The priests," says AMBROSE †, "execute
 "the commission given by Christ (John xx. 23.)
 "as intercessors by their prayers—They beseech
 "and entreat; the Godhead forgives and remits
 "sins."

LEO *the great*, who was not more remarkable
 for his vigorous exertions in extending the power
 of the papal see, than for his extraordinary genius
 and abilities as a writer, conceived that absolution
 was obtained by the supplication and prayer of
 God's ministers. "It has pleased the divine
 "goodness," he says, "that the remission of sins
 "should be granted to the supplications of the
 "priests. It is therefore necessary that the guilt
 "of sins be absolved by sacerdotal intercession."
 And that *the power of the keys* extends to re-
 mission of sins by way of intercession and of
 prayer only, and not by imparting any immediate
 absolution, as maintained by Bonaventure, by
 Alexander of Hales, and by other ancient school-
 men ‡.

Of the frequency of the use of the precatory

* Life of Basil, ascribed to his friend Amphilochius.

† Isti rogant, divinitas donat.—De Spir. S. lib. iii. cap. 19.

‡ Morin de sac. poen. and Usher's answer to the challenge.

form of absolution, the writings of the fathers, and the liturgies of antiquity, afford innumerable proofs. And of the efficacy of intercession and supplication in obtaining remission of sins, a very extraordinary instance is recorded by Eusebius * on the authority of Clement of Alexandria.

The *absolution*, or, as we now say, *the sacrament* of the Supper of the Lord is, in the Church of England, administered in a precatory form. At the delivery of the bread, the priest says, “ the
“ body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given
“ for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto ever-
“ lasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance
“ that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in
“ thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.” When the cup is presented, he says, “ the blood of our
“ Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee,
“ preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting
“ life: drink this in remembrance that Christ’s
“ blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.”

In the Latin or Roman church likewise, the form prescribed to be used in the canon † of the

* Ecc. hist. l. iii. c. 23. Of John, the Apostle.

† In the canon of the mass, the priest who consecrates, commonly partakes alone. Any of the assistant priests or deacons, or of the people, may afterwards communicate. But the administration of the communion to the people, forms a part of the *ritual*, rather than of the *missal*. All the people are required to communicate at least once a year, and they may receive the communion at hours when the communion office or mass is not performed, consecrated bread, the host, being reserved in a vessel for the purpose.

mass, as well as when the laity communicate, is entirely precatory, and nearly resembles our own, which indeed was partly borrowed from it. On the paten, or little plate, is placed the host, that is, the consecrated bread, or rather wafer, which is commonly marked with an impression of the image of Christ on the cross, or with the letters I H S, and a cross above the centre of the H. The priest, holding in his left hand the paten, and taking the host between his thumb and fore finger, crosses himself with it, saying, “the body of our
“ Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul unto ever-
“ lasting life. Amen:” and after this he receives the host.

Then taking the chalice in his right hand, and crossing himself with it in the same manner, he says, “the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ pre-
“ serve my soul unto everlasting life. Amen:” and receives all the blood. Especial care is taken that no particle of the consecrated elements may be left remaining either on the paten or in the chalice.

When the laity receive the communion, the same form is used, excepting that *my* is of course changed into *thy*. It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that the host is put by the priest into the mouth of the communicant, and that the wine is prohibited to all the laity: both of which practices, as the protestants have shewn, and some of the more learned and liberal Romanists admit, are

are contrary to the usage of the primitive Christians *.

The laity of the Greek church receive the communion in both kinds; but the manner of administering the elements to them, though it has been retained for several ages, differs from the practice of antiquity, and of our church. The priests and deacons indeed partake of the bread first, and of the wine afterward, much in the manner that we do. After which, a deacon invites the laity to approach, in these words, “ Draw near with
“ faith and charity in the fear of God.” The

* From the institution of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper till the twelfth century, no instance can be produced where, in the *public* celebration of the Eucharist, the people did not partake of the wine, as well as of the bread. About this period, some bishops interdicted the use of the cup. This was done, it is said, to prevent all irreverence, and any accident that might degrade the dignity of the sacrament; and more especially the effusion of the blood of Christ. Transubstantiation, mentioned in the eleventh, and much more frequently in the twelfth century, and established by the ivth Lateran council in 1215, was soon followed by this episcopal interdict. In 1414, the council of Constance confirmed by a canon the regulation of the bishops, and ratified, as far as a synod can ratify, a practice directly contradictory to the plain positive injunction of Christ, and the universal usage of the church for upwards of 1100 years. Till this period, the laity likewise received the elements into their own hands. Unleavened bread, wafers, the elevation and adoration of the host, and the putting of it into the mouth of the communicant, all of them the offspring of transubstantiation, are not many years younger than their parent; and must all be ranked with the sacerdotal corruptions and superstitions, for which the thirteenth century is distinguished. The positive or indicative form of absolution was likewise the invention of this age.

bread and wine, previously mixed in the chalice, are administered together in a spoon to the communicants; to each of whom the minister says,
 “ The precious and holy body, and blood of our
 “ Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ are partaken of
 “ by thee, for the remission of thy sins, and ever-
 “ lasting life *.” Or, “ I administer to thee the
 “ precious †, &c. ;” or, “ Thou partakeest of
 “ the ‡, &c.”

In England, till the reformation, the words spoken by the priest prior to his receiving the elements, differed materially both from the Roman and our present form. In various editions of the Salisbury missal, some of which were printed here before the reformation, some during the reign of Mary, and others at Paris, the priest is directed, before he partakes, to address the body with humiliation, or bowing, and to say: “ Hail for ever,
 “ most holy flesh of Christ, before all things, and
 “ above all things, my supreme delight. May
 “ the body of our Lord Jesus Christ be to me, a
 “ sinner, the way and the life, in the name of the
 “ Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.
 “ Amen §.” Here he takes the body, having first made a cross with the body before his mouth.

* Smith's Greek Church. † Lit. Chrysof. ‡ Lit. Basil.

§ *Ad corpus dicat cum humiliatione antequam percipiat. (Rubr.)—*

“ Ave in æternum sanctissima caro Christi, mihi ante omnia, &
 “ super omnia, summa dulcedo. Corpus domini nostri Jesu Christi
 “ sit mihi peccatori via & vita, in nomine patris, &c.” *Hic sumat
 corpus, cruce prius facta, ante os. Rubr.*

Then

Then with great devotion he is to say to the blood: "Hail for ever, heavenly drink, before
"all things and above all things, to me the greatest
"sweetness, (or my highest desire, and supreme
"delight.) May the body and blood of our Lord
"Jesus Christ be to me, a sinner, an efficacious
"and perpetual medicine to eternal life, in the
"name of the Father, &c. Amen*." After
which he takes the blood.

In the Unitarian, or what is called a Book of Common Prayer reformed, when the priest delivers the bread, he says: "Take, and eat this in
"remembrance of Christ;" and when he delivers the cup, "Take, and drink this in remembrance
"of Christ." This form of words is chosen in conformity to our Saviour's own, "Do this in
"remembrance of me."

The sentences, at the distribution of the elements in the present Scottish episcopalian church, consist of the two former clauses now used by us, the latter clauses being omitted, as they were in Edward's first book, and Laud's Scottish Liturgy.—The Episcopalian church of America has adopted our forms.

* *Deinde ad sanguinem cum magna devotione, dicens, (Rubr.) "Ave
"in æternum cœlestis potus, mihi—dulcedo. Corpus, & sanguis
"D. N. J. C. possint (in some copies *profint*) mihi peccatori ad re-
"medium sempiternum, in vitam æternam. Amen." Miss. Sar.
1527, 1534, & 1555. & Portitor. Sar. 1555.*

The sacrament of *Baptism* among the Greeks is administered sometimes in a declaratory, and sometimes in a precatory form. The priest's words are, "The servant of God (N) is baptised
" in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and
" of the Holy Ghost, now and for ever." At the repetition of the name of each of the three Persons in the Trinity, the god-father answers, Amen.

Another very general form of baptism in the Greek church is, "Let the servant of the Lord," or, "may the servant of the Lord be baptised in
" the name of the Father, and of the Son, and
" of the Holy Ghost." Whether the form be declaratory or precatory, it is always pronounced passively, partly because it is read passively in Mark xiv. 16: and partly because this mode of expression, which they have retained from Chrysostom, is thought by the Greeks to indicate more modesty and humility than the active form employed by the western church*.

The difference between the Greek and western forms is trifling. In sense, the declaratory active, and passive forms agree. It is to be lamented, that the zealots of both communions have reciprocally used the bitterest invectives against each other, in a matter of so little importance as this mere variety of expression seems to be. Especially as both parties agree in the concluding words, and hold that "baptising in the name of the Father,

* Smith's Greek Church.

“ and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” is a necessary and essential part of the sacrament.

Our form of administering baptism is declaratory, and not precatory : yet it is preceded and followed by prayers and intercessions for absolution and regeneration. Thus in our daily service likewise, the absolution is preceded by the confession, and followed by the Lord’s prayer, the recital of which, as we have before observed, was, by the ancients supposed to obtain remission of those sins of infirmity, into which the best and most circumspect are daily liable to fall. It is deserving of remark, that in our church, wherever the form is declaratory, it is always accompanied with supplications for pardon.

But the absolution in the office of the holy communion is a direct prayer for pardon and forgiveness. “ Almighty God, our heavenly father, who
“ of his great mercy hath promised forgiveness of
“ sins to all them, which with hearty repentance
“ and true faith turn unto him ; have mercy upon
“ you, pardon and deliver you from all your
“ sins, confirm and strengthen you in all goodness,
“ and bring you to everlasting life, through
“ Jesus Christ our Lord.” *Amen.*

In this form, the declaratory and precatory absolutions are happily united *. The former part consists of God’s merciful promise of pardon to true

* The precatory part is nearly the same with the absolution in the

true penitent believers. In the latter part, the bishop or priest, in exact conformity to the sentiments and practice of the fathers, directs addressees to the throne of grace, and intercedes with God for the actual pardon and absolution of particular persons. This ministerial benediction and intercession was always considered as a principal act of episcopal and sacerdotal power in the business of evangelical absolution.

The following prayer, which is an ancient form of absolution *, is still used in the Greek church before communion. “ O Lord Jesus Christ, our
 “ God, who alone hast the power of forgiving
 “ sins, in thy goodness and loving-kindness over-
 “ look all the offences of thy servants, whether
 “ of knowledge or ignorance, whether committed
 “ in deed, word, or thought, for thou art the
 “ God of mercies, able to shew mercy, to save,
 “ and to forgive sins.”

In the oriental liturgies likewise, both the absolutions in the beginning of the office, and that before the communion, are collects or prayers for pardon and sanctification, and are often addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ †.

the order of the mass. We added the general declaratory words of absolution here, as we did likewise in the form that may be said at the visitation of the sick.

* It is said to have been composed by *John of Damascus*, who lived in the viiith century.

† See Lit. of Basil, in Renaudot's collection, tom. i. p. 3. & can. univers. Æthiop. Ibid. p. 505, &c. In many of these absolutions, the patriarch, metropolitan, king, &c. are prayed for by name.

In

In the Romish church the absolution in the ordinary of the mass, and in the sacrament of penance, is entirely precatory, “ May God Almighty have mercy upon you, forgive you your sins, and bring you to everlasting life*.

The form of the absolution of *penitents*, in the *Greek* church, is in a great measure left to the discretion of the penitentiary. The most common forms are, 1. “ Do thou, O Lord, remit, pardon, and forgive the sins committed by thy servants.” 2. “ May it please thee to absolve thy servants according to thy word.” 3. “ Do thou pardon, who art our good and gracious God.” 4. “ May our Lord Jesus Christ pardon all those sins which thou hast confessed before him to my meanness, as well as those which thou hast forgotten.” 5. “ O Lord, pardon thy servant, and be reconciled to him.”

From this variety, of which many more instances might be given, it is evident that the sentence of absolution is pronounced only in the way of supplication and intercession. The priest is no more than the minister of this sacred rite, and claims no personal or judicial power.

It should not however be concealed, that even in that part of the *Greek* church, which acknowledges the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Con-

* Misereatur vestri omnipotens deus, & dimissis peccatis vestris, perducatur vos ad vitam æternam.

stantinople, the clergy have sometimes adopted forms of absolution, different from these. But as they are novel, and were obtruded upon them by the artful emissaries of Rome, who were continually watching over the poor Greeks, and ready to take every advantage of their ignorance and distress, with a view to bring them to farther compliance, and in time to reduce them to complete subjection to the papal see, the bare mention of the circumstance may here be sufficient.

It were an act of injustice, not to observe, that in the annual course of the offices of the *Romish* church, a considerable variety of absolutions are found, all running in the precatory form. Of their general tenor, a judgment may be formed from the following specimens, which in the *Breviary* frequently occur. 1. "May almighty God
" have mercy upon you, pardon your offences,
" and bring you to everlasting life." 2. "May
" the Almighty and merciful Lord grant us par-
" don, absolution, and the remission of our sins."
3. "O Lord Jesus Christ hear the prayers of thy
" servants, and do thou who livest and reignest
" with the Father and the Holy Ghost, have
" mercy upon us." 4. "May the Almighty and
" merciful God loose us from the chain of our
" sins*."

INDICA-

* Similar forms are, in the Roman Rubrics, styled Absolutions.

INDICATIVE ABSOLUTION.

Besides these ancient forms, there is another, called the indicative, or positive form of absolution, in which the priest, addressing the penitent, and speaking in the first person, says, "I absolve thee." Of the use of this form, in the *sense* in which the romanists contend, and some members of our establishment appear to admit, that it is to be received, we have no vestige in the earlier and purer ages of the church.

For between the absolution of sins committed against God, and the absolution, which is merely a remission of ecclesiastical censures, we must, if we would avoid falling into gross errors, make the requisite distinctions. The truth is, the form of which we are now speaking, has not the usage of 600 years to plead in its behalf*. Though

The absolution in the *pontificale* likewise as well as in the *Missal*, is precatory. The positive indicative form is found only in the *Ritual*, and there but once; that is, in "the Sacrament of Penance."

* Yet Martenne, whose work in three large folio volumes, was published in 1736, refers to "four books venerable for their antiquity, all of them above 600 years old," in which the indicative form occurs. In particular, he specifies a *pontificale* of Egbert, Bishop of York, which, he says, is very neatly written in Saxon characters, and is still preserved in the library of that church. I have made some enquiry after this *pontificale*, but to no purpose: and I suspect that upon closer investigation, it will be found either that the absolution is not drawn up in the indicative form, or that the true date of the MS. is posterior to the time of Egbert.

Thomas

Thomas Aquin might not introduce it himself, yet he first defended it, a few years after the middle of the thirteenth century. From the writings of this author, Archbishop Usher has proved the recentness, and nearly ascertained the date of this innovation*. It is acknowledged by *Aquin*, that his contemporaries objected to the form, not only because persons of judgment thought the ancient form preferable, but because this was a *novelty invented within the last thirty years*†. And, before *Usher*, the learned *Morin*, though a staunch‡ papist, had fully shewn that this is a modern fabrication; and that, during twelve centuries, absolution was given only in a precatory form§. He likewise

* Answer to the jesuit's challenge.

† Afferebat enim (that is the learned Doctor against whom *Thomas* wrote his 22d opusc. affirmed) vix annos 30 elapsos esse, cum omnes sola forma deprecatoria uterentur. *Thomas* does not attempt to disprove the position, but answers, "that his opponent could not testify of *all*, because he had not seen *all*." *Morin*. fac. pœn. l. viii. c. 9. sect. 26.

‡ Every member of the "holy catholic church," who knows "what spirit he is of," to whatever *sect* he may belong, must grieve to find such a man as *Morinus*, speaking of two of the most illustrious instruments of the reformation, in the following terms—*Donec humani generis hostis, Lutherum & Calvinum ab inferis evomeret*: that is, in *coarse* English, *Luther and Calvin were vomited out of hell, into this world, by the devil*. (*De Sac. pœn. præf. ad lect.*)

§ Cum autem constet annis mille ducentis in ecclesia occidentali absolutionem deprecativo modo dari solitum, in orientali vero, in hunc usque diem, non aliter dari, &c. *De fac. pœn. l. viii.*

says,

says, that the progress of this new form was so rapid, that in the course of sixty years, the use of the ancient form was hardly known*. *Martenne* repeats and confirms the observation of *Morin*, and after him remarks, that about the same time, the validity of precatory absolution began to be questioned†. *William* of *Paris*, who flourished about thirty years before *Aquin*, makes use of these remarkable words. “The priest to whom
“ confession is made, does not pronounce abso-
“ lution in the manner of forensic judges. He
“ does not say, We absolve thee: neither do we
“ condemn: but let the confessor make a *prayer*
“ to God, that he may grant the penitent abso-
“ lution, remission, and the grace of sanctifica-
“ tion‡.”

In all the more ancient MS. rituals, both of the Greek and Latin churches, the form is always precatory, never indicative§.

The indicative, or positive form of absolution is not however to be condemned, merely because it was not known in ancient times, or from its

* Tantos denique progressus brevi temporis spatio fecit illa sententia, ut alterius usus in paucis provinciis sexaginta post annis vix superesset. Ibid. cap. 9. sect. 28.

† Tantos denique progressus—ut de deprecativæ validitate dubitari cœperit. Marten, antiq. Eccles. Rit. lib. 1. c. 6. artic. 5. Morin. l. viii. c. 8. sect. 2.

‡ De Sac. pœnit. ap. Marten. ibid.

§ Marten. Ibid.

having been grossly abused since it was known. When its import and meaning are duly defined and rightly understood, it may, on certain occasions, be adopted with propriety and advantage.

Were discipline, for instance, restored to the church, (and, if it is "much to be wished," it ought, certainly, to be attempted in earnest,) this form might be used as a judicial act, by those invested with the power of readmitting penitent offenders to the privilege of communion with the church. On such occasions, the use of it would be justifiable and right: and I think there are strong grounds for presuming that a form, very like it, was used at the readmission of penitents into the primitive church*.

Again, when any man labours under great inquietude of conscience, and consequent distress of mind, on account of any crime real or supposed; when he opens his grief, and confesses his offence to some learned and discreet minister of God's word, and exhibits every sign of sincere contrition

* Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, & quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est, episcopus episcoporum edicit; *Ego & mæchiæ, fornicationis delicta pœnitentiæ functis dimitto.* O Edictum! Absit, absit a sponsa Christi tale præconium, &c. (Tert. de Pudicitia, c. 1.) The power exercised by the bishop, whom in this passage, Tertullian (now a montanist) upbraids in language not remarkable for its delicacy, might be simply a relaxation of ecclesiastical censures, and the authoritative form of restoring penitents to church communion—See also Bishop Fell's notes on Cyprian de lapsis.

and repentance; then “ for the quieting of his
“ conscience, and the removal of all scruple and
“ doubtfulness, the priest may *by the ministry of*
“ *God’s word*, give him, together with spiritual
“ council and advice, the benefit of absolution.*”

If upon a full examination into his spiritual state, the priest has every reason to believe him truly penitent, and as far as human judgment can go, to conclude that he stands absolved by God, he may, more especially if the party earnestly desire it, *ministerially* pronounce the indicative form of absolution.

The judgment of the priest, however, is not infallible: for a man may be deceived himself, and one man may deceive another. But where every visible and proper indication of sincere repentance and faith appear, this form is the greatest assurance that a clergyman, without the aid of divine inspiration, can give to the penitent, that his sins are pardoned: and this, under certain circumstances, our church has thought it right the priest should give for the satisfaction of his fellow creature. To hear the “ ambassador of God, and
“ the minister of reconciliation,” in whose authority, as well as sanctity, he has been accustomed to confide, pronounce, upon the best judgment he can form, pardon and peace, according to the

* It may be proper to remark, that the church neither commands, nor forbids private confession and absolution. Indeed, when “ any
“ man cannot quiet his own conscience, or requires farther coun-
“ sel,” she recommends both, but does not enjoin either.

terms of the Gospel, must afford the greatest consolation, which a desponding spirit can receive.

Two instances have been stated, where this positive absolution is thought to be rational and admissible. There is a third, in which it is enjoined, that is, in "the Order for the Visitation of the Sick." This appointment is one of those regulations, in which the prudence and humanity of our reformers, and of the reviewers of the Liturgy, are equally conspicuous. The piety of the church would not refuse to any of its members at the point of death, the satisfaction of receiving absolution in the most plenary, and authoritative form. But her prudence has with equal caution restricted the use of a form, which from its very nature, is more liable than any other, to be mistaken or abused.

For before this absolution may be pronounced, the minister is first enjoined to enquire, "whether the sick person believe all the articles of the christian faith?" In order to ascertain this, he is directed to rehearse interrogatively all the articles of the apostles' creed. Upon the sick person's answering, "all this I steadfastly believe," the minister is next enjoined to examine, "whether he repent him truly of his sins, and be in charity with all the world *." In other words, before the minister may pronounce this absolution, he is to examine whether the sick person be a true pe-

* Rubric before the absolution in the visitation office.

nitent, and sincere believer; that is, whether he be entitled to pardon by God, “who pardoneth
“and absolveth all them that truly repent, and
“unfeignedly believe his holy gospel.”

The form itself, which was in some degree new modelled and improved at the reformation, is as guarded as any indicative form can be. It is, strictly speaking, nothing more than the precatory and declaratory forms united, and applied to a particular case. The introductory part is addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ, and beseeches him, of his great mercy to forgive the sick person his offences. This part likewise declares, that “our
“Lord Jesus Christ has left to his church, power
“to absolve those who truly repent, and believe
“in him:” The form proceeds, “and by his au-
“thority committed to me, I absolve thee from
“all thy sins in the name of the Father, and of
“the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.”

Now, since this very form declares that remission is granted only to the true penitent believer, that is, to him alone whom God has already pardoned and absolved, and who cannot therefore need absolution from the hands of man, it must necessarily follow, that “the power to absolve, left by Christ
“to the church *, and by his authority committed
“to the priest,” is purely ministerial, or as our

* The words, “who hath left power to his church to absolve all
“sinners who truly repent, and believe in him,” were inserted by our reformers. The rest of the form they copied with little variation from the *Roman Ritual*.

church elsewhere expresses it, "the power and
 " commandment given by God to his ministers to
 " declare and pronounce to his people being peni-
 " tent, the absolution and remission of their sins."

This is the doctrine that was taught to our fore-
 fathers at the dawn of the reformation. "Which
 " words," (the words of absolution,) "being
 " spoken by the priest on earth, he (the receiver)
 " ought to believe they shall be ratified in heaven;
 " and that *he is already pardoned* for the merits of
 " Christ's passion *."

If this be not the doctrine of the established
 church, we may ask, what other meaning can she
 have? and we must, I fear, be compelled to admit
 the presumption, that the Liturgy in doctrinal
 points, is not always perfectly consistent with it-
 self. But if this be the meaning of our church,
 then her sentiments on indicative absolution, co-
 incide with those of the most eminent divines of
 the age, in which this form was introduced †.

It

* Institution of a christian man.

† Though the form in question is now, and has been for some
 ages, commonly called the *indicative* form, yet it has likewise, and
 with stricter regard to propriety, been called a *middle*, or a *mixed*
 form. The purely indicative is, "I absolve," &c. without any
 precatory words, either prefixed, or annexed. The precatory form
 alone was used for the first twelve centuries. About 1225, or 1230,
 the simply *indicative* was introduced. But it would appear that the
 adoption of it alone, seemed to the more moderate and learned, a
 hasty and improper deviation from primitive and universal practice,
 into an opposite extreme. They, therefore, united the two forms.

It was first used by a few, and only by a few, about the year 1230*. In this very year flourished *Alexander of Hales*†, who, on account of his profound knowledge of scholastic theology and civil law, was styled the *irrefragable doctor*. He observes that “in this form, prayer precedes in the optative, or precatory mode, and the absolution is subjoined in the indicative. Prayer obtains pardon, and absolution *presupposes* pardon: for the priest would absolve none, who, he did not believe, had been absolved by God‡.”

John Bonaventure §, who flourished 25 years later, and at a period when the use of this form was become much more general, so far approves of the preceding exposition, that when he comes to explain the meaning of the form, he expresses himself in the very words of *Alexander*. *Thomas*

Of this middle, or mixed form, *Hales*, *Bonaventure*, and *Aquin* speak in the passages that follow, where either their opinion, or evidence, is referred to, or cited.

* Morin. de Sac. pœnit. lib. viii. c. 9. p. 537.

† He was an Englishman, born at Hales in Gloucestershire, and Doctor of Divinity at Paris, then the seat of theological learning, and frequented by students from every part of Europe.

‡ In formâ absolutionis præmittitur oratio per modum deprecativum, & subjungitur absolutio per modum indicativum. Et deprecatio gratiam impetrat, & absolutio gratiam supponit. Nunquam enim Sacerdos absolveret quenquam, de quo non præsumeret quod esset absolutus a Deo. (Alex. Hal. ap. Morin. p. 538.)

§ He was professor of theology in the university at Paris, and called the *seraphic doctor*.

Aquin * himself, testifies that the same sentiments were embraced at Paris by the learned in general; and it is probable that the doctor †, who opposed the innovation defended by Aquin, held the same opinion with Hales, Bonaventure, and the Parisian divines. Though he disliked the introduction of the indicative form, yet it is certain he did not disapprove their exposition of it. ‡

That the Church of England does not conceive any personal or judicial power to attach to the minister in granting absolution, is plain from the introductory part of the form, which is precatory, and acknowledges our Lord Jesus Christ to be the person by whom absolution is virtually conveyed. Had the church fancied, either that any real efficacy accompanied the priest's pronouncing the indicative absolution, or that sacerdotal absolution was essentially necessary to the forgiveness of sins §, she would here have posi-

* Aquin, styled also the *angelic doctor*, flourished in 1255. He and Bonaventure were admitted to the degree of D. D. in the University of Paris on the same day. Cave's hist. lit.

† His name is not known.

‡ St. Thom. opusc. 22. cap. 2. 3. ap. Morin.

§ Much less does our church admit the positions, respecting absolution, laid down by the good fathers assembled at the council of Trent. One of their canons says, *si quis dixerit absolutionem sacerdotis non esse actum judiciale, sed nudum ministerium pronunciandi, & declarandi, remissa esse peccata confitenti: anathema sit.*—For a very valuable account of this most singular ecclesiastical assembly, see appendix to the Rev. Dr. A. Geddes's learned and spirited letter to three Vicars apostolic.

tively enjoined the use of this, or of some other form. But what are the words of the rubric? “ Here shall the sick person be moved to make
“ a special confession of his sins, if he feel his
“ conscience troubled with any weighty matter.
“ After which confession, the priest shall absolve
“ him, *if he humbly and heartily desire it**, after
“ this sort.” But on the supposal that the sick person does *not* feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, the priest is *not* directed to move him to make any *special confession*. If the sick person makes no special confession, or after a special confession, does not humbly and heartily desire absolution: if he is satisfied of the sincerity of his own repentance, and requires no assurance from the priest, that he is forgiven by God, then the priest is *not* authorised to pronounce this absolution †. By leaving it to the option of the sick man, the church has left us a proof, which to me appears decisive, that in her judgment, whoever performs the conditions of the covenant of grace, shall be saved without sacerdotal absolution; and that he who does not repent, and believe the gospel, cannot be essentially benefited by any absolution pronounced by a priest.

* These words in italic were added in 1662.

† Bishop Bull requested the clergyman, who prayed with him in his last illness, to repeat the absolution in the communion service. This form is adopted in the visitation office of the episcopalian church of America.

POWER OF ABSOLUTION GRANTED TO MINISTERS
AT ORDINATION.

We have seen the sentiments of the church of England, respecting absolution, as they are deducible from the different modes in which it is appointed to be administered. Let us now advert to the official form, by which the power of absolution is conveyed to the clergy in the ordination and consecration of priests and bishops. From this point of view, we may perhaps obtain a more distinct knowledge of the subject; for whatever be the nature and extent of the power exercised by the clergy, it will naturally be specified when it is conferred, and must be according to the limits of the original grant.

At the laying on of hands the bishop says “ receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of
“ a bishop (or priest) in the church of God.” The ordinary gifts of the Spirit are as necessary for the execution of the office of a bishop, or priest, as the extraordinary gifts were for the performance of the office of an apostle. We therefore very properly adopt a part of the form made use of by our Lord. But we understand the words in an inferior, and more limited sense. The bishop does not say “ as my father sent me, so send I
“ you.”—He does not say absolutely “ receive the Holy Ghost,” but receive it for
“ the office in which you are appointed to
“ serve.” From this limitation it is obvious,
that

that a more indefinite and extensive power was committed by our Saviour to the apostles, than is given at ordination to the clergy of the church of England. The extent of the powers of a bishop, or a priest, must be determined solely by the rules and duties of their respective offices, as expressed in the written word of God, and interpreted by the order of the church, which appoints them to their office.

The same observation may be applied to the other part of the form. “ Whose sins thou dost
“ forgive, they are forgiven: and whose sins thou
“ dost retain they are retained.” When these words were spoken by our Lord to his apostles, they had been endowed with extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, and we know that they were, after the more copious effusion of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost, enabled, in some cases at least, to discern the thoughts and intentions of the heart. They were, consequently, not liable to be imposed upon, either by the misrepresentations of ignorance, or the frauds of hypocrisy and dissimulation.

They might therefore be said to have a power of remitting sins judicially, that is, by the Holy Spirit dwelling in them*. But no such power can be invested in their successors of these latter

* They had *the discernment of spirits*, 1 Cor. xii. 10. and could *judge* with certainty, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, when persons were penitent, and consequently forgiven, and when not, Acts viii. 21, 23.—On the meaning of the words employed in the act of *ordination*, I should recommend a deliberate consultation of *instructions given to candidates for orders* by ABP. SECKER.

ages, to whom the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit are not communicated.

The power then of remitting, or retaining sins, might be given to the apostles, in the most plenary and literal sense in which the words of our Saviour can be understood; because the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit enabled them to discharge, with infallible rectitude, so important a commission. But to prevent the misconception of a passage of some difficulty, our church has expressly limited, and has defined the limitation of the power invested in the priest. For to the words of the original form, she has added, “And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his Holy Sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.”

That *word*, which the priest is commissioned to dispense faithfully, contains the terms and conditions on which “sins are remitted and retained.” And of the two sacraments, which he is likewise bound faithfully to dispense, the former was ordained for the express purpose of procuring the “remission of sins,” and the latter was instituted in remembrance of him, whose body was given “and whose blood was shed for the remission of sins.”

What are we then to understand by the words, “whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained?” They mean that the minister shall, to the utmost of his power, instruct the people out of the Holy Scriptures: that in particular he shall

shall faithfully declare to them, the terms on which the forgiveness of sins is promised, and the retention of sins threatened, in the Gospel of Christ: that he shall explain the qualifications requisite on our part, that we may receive in the sacrament of baptism, “remission of sins;” and in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, may be worthy partakers of the body and blood, given and shed “for the remission of sins:” And that besides the discharge of his duty in dispensing *the absolution of word and of prayer*, he shall practically, and with due solemnity administer the sacraments which are the means appointed by Christ for obtaining the “remission of sins.” By this due discharge of his official duty, the minister of the Gospel may in a modified sense of the words, and certainly with no greater latitude of expression than is found in other parts of Scripture*, be said to have the power of remitting and retaining sins.

But whatever the disciples of the old *nonjurors* may think, or affirm, the church of England nei-

* A similar form of language is used in the Old Testament in conferring the prophetic function. “See (saith the Lord to Jeremiah) “I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, “to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw “down, to build, and to plant.” (ch. i. ver. 10.) Agreeably to the terms of the commission the prophet is, in other parts of the book, addressed by the Almighty as exercising a sovereign power of inflicting judgments upon kingdoms and nations. Ch. xv. 1. and xxv. 15, &c. Compare also, third head, *Declaratory Absolution*, p. 341 to p. 350.

ther maintains nor countenances the opinion, that a priest, by virtue of his ordination, has an absolute unconditional power to forgive sins. The power that the clergy have received and exercise, is purely ministerial, being defined and limited by the written word of God, which expressly declares upon what conditions sins shall be remitted, and upon what, retained. To suppose, that any minister of the Gospel since the Apostles, possesses the power of remitting or retaining sins at his discretion, is repugnant to the whole tenor of Scripture, as well as to every dictate of reason and common sense. What would be the consequence, if a priest might, as Bellarmine and others contend, “immediately, actively, and instrumentally, effect” “by his absolution the grace of justification?” Having nothing to depend upon but human judgment, which is liable to a thousand errors and misconceptions, he might administer absolution to a sinner, whom God would condemn, and refuse absolution to him, whom God would forgive. He might “slay the souls that should” “not die, and keep alive the souls that should” “not live.*” This were to pollute “the Lord” “among his people, by lying to the people, who” “believe the lies of those that prophesy out of” “their own heart †.” The claim to such a power is in the highest degree presumptuous and absurd. It supposes the sentence of Omniscience to be

* Ezek. xii.

† Id. ibid.

bound by the decision of a fallible creature, the justice of God to be administered by the wisdom of man.

With great reason therefore we condemn the decrees of Popes and Councils, which either affect to retain the sins of those whom they are pleased to pronounce *heretics* or pretend indiscriminately to grant plenary absolution to the exterminators of protestants. And we reject with abhorrence, the position, that a mortal man has a *judicial* power of pardoning and absolving, knowing that “to forgive iniquity, transgression, and sin, and by no means to clear the guilty, is the Glory of the LORD* ;” and assured, that his “Glory he will not give to another †;”

I cannot better conclude this account of Absolution than with the words of Jerom, whose reasoning on the subject is followed by *the master of the sentences*, by *Scotus*, and by many of the more celebrated *scholastic* divines. What will weigh more with the members of our communion, its spirit is adopted in the Book of Homilies ‡.

“Bishops and priests,” says Jerom §, “not understanding

* Exod. xxxiii. and xxxiv. † Isa. xlii. 8.

‡ Homily on Repentance, p. 2.

§ Istum locum Episcopi & Presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quærat. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis

“ derstanding that passage, (Matt. xvi. 19. where
 “ our Saviour says to Peter, *whatever thou shalt*
 “ *bind, &c.*) arrogate to themselves a kind of
 “ pharisaical superciliousness, so that they con-
 “ demn the innocent and fancy they absolve the
 “ guilty. Whereas, before the tribunal of God,
 “ the inquiry is, not what may be the sentence of
 “ priests, but what has been the life of those that
 “ are to be judged. Concerning lepers we read
 “ in Leviticus, where they are commanded to
 “ shew themselves to the priest, *and if they have*
 “ *a leprosy, then let them be made by the priest un-*
 “ *clean.* Not that the priests may make them
 “ leprous and unclean, but because they have
 “ knowledge to perceive, who is leprous, and

prohis, ubi jubentur ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, & si lepram habu-
 erint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant: non quo sacerdotes leproso-
 faciant & immundos, sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi & non leprosi,
 & possint discernere qui mundus, quive immundus sit. Quomodo
 ergo ibi leprosum Sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic & hic
 alligat vel solvit Episcopus & Presbyter, non eos qui insontes sunt
 vel noxii: sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates,
 scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus. Hieron. in Matt. xvi. 19.
 Ed. Benedict. Tom. iv.—The priest is said to *make clean*, or to
make unclean, when he *pronounces* the person to be clean or unclean.
 Thus in our English translation, the priest shall *pronounce* him utterly
 unclean; literally, polluting the priest shall pollute him, in the
 words of Jerom *contaminatione contaminabit*, with pollution shall he
 pollute him. Not, says Jerom, that the priest is the author of the
 uncleanness, but he shews and pronounces him to be unclean, who
 before, to most appeared to be clean.—Non quo contaminationis
 auctor sit, sed quo ostendat eum contaminatum, qui prius mundus
 plurimis videbatur.

who

“ who is not leprous, and can discern who is
“ clean, and who is unclean. As then there (that
“ is, by the levitical law,) the priest makes the
“ leprous clean, or unclean: so here (that is,
“ under the Gospel dispensation,) the bishop, and
“ priest does not bind, or loose the innocent, or
“ guilty: but according to his office, when he
“ has examined their different offences, he knows
“ who is to be bound, and who is to be loosed.”

Peter Lombard cites, though imperfectly, this passage of *Jerom*, and adds, “ it is here plainly
“ shewn that God does not always follow the
“ judgment of the church, which sometimes
“ judges through surreption and ignorance;
“ whereas God always judges according to truth.
“ Both in remitting and retaining sins, the priests
“ of the Gospel have the same power and office,
“ that formerly under the law the legal priests,
“ had in healing lepers. They therefore remit
“ or retain sins, whilst they declare and shew
“ that they are remitted, or retained by God *.”

* Hic aperte ostenditur, quod non semper Deus sequitur Ecclesiæ judicium, quæ per surreptionem & ignorantiam interdum judicat: Deus autem semper judicat secundum veritatem. Et in remittendis vel retinendis culpis id juris & officii habent evangelici sacerdotes, quod olim habebant legales sub lege in curandis leprosis. Hi ergo peccata dimittunt vel retinent, dum dimissa a Deo, vel retenta, indicant, (*judicant* is sometimes read) & ostendunt. Sentent. l. iv. Dist. 18.

F I N I S.

morning and evening
prayer of the church
of England.

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